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# POVERTY AND THE STATE



# POVERTY AND THE STATE OR WORK FOR THE UNEMPLOYED

*AN ENQUIRY INTO THE CAUSES AND EXTENT  
OF ENFORCED IDLENESS, TOGETHER  
WITH THE STATEMENT OF A REMEDY  
PRACTICABLE HERE AND NOW*

BY  
HERBERT V. MILLS

LONDON  
KEGAN PAUL, TRENCH & CO., 1, PATERNOSTER SQUARE  
1886

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TO MY FRIEND  
PROFESSOR ADAMSON, M.A.,  
OF THE VICTORIA UNIVERSITY, MANCHESTER,  
WHO FIRST AWOKE WITHIN ME A PASSION FOR  
THE SCIENCE OF HUMAN ECONOMY,  
THIS BOOK IS  
GRATEFULLY DEDICATED.

“ Thrice is he arm'd, that hath his quarrel just ;  
And he but naked, though lock'd up in steel,  
Whose conscience with injustice is corrupted.”

*Second Part of King Henry VI.*

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# POVERTY AND THE STATE.

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## CHAPTER I.

### THE PROBLEM STATED.

“ But when? But when? O Master, thou didst say  
The time was coming. Is it come? Alas,  
It seems not so! The days are dark with storm ;—  
The coming revolutions have no face  
Of peace and music, but of blood and fire ;  
The strife of Races scarce consolidate,  
Succeeded by the far more bitter strife  
Of Classes—that which eighteen hundred years  
Since Christ spake have not yet availed to close,  
But rather brought to issue only now,  
When first the People’s international  
Know their own strength, and know the world is theirs,  
Which has been kept from them by force so long ;—  
By force, not right ; for no man spake them fair,  
To keep them patient through their helplessness ;  
It was enough that they were chained and dumb.  
Will they be spoken fair to now?

\* \* \* \* \*

For Might instead of Right is hell on earth,  
Battle of darkness still against God’s side.”

HARRIET E. H. KING, *The Disciples.*

ALTHOUGH this book turns almost exclusively upon  
the government of English workhouses, and on a

proposal for their reform, I am ambitious enough to hope that it opens the way of reform not only for the workhouse population of England, but also, in the immediate future, the way of reform for all in England who may be classed amongst the industrious poor.

It is a usual thing at the beginning of a book of this kind to state the problem. It is an excellent custom ; and as it is an easy matter to comply with it, I will set it forth briefly by saying that our problem is to feed the hungry, to clothe the naked, and to shelter the homeless ; and to do this by methods which shall not in any case degrade those who come under the influence of the remedy.

It is not a new problem. And I know not why I should venture to add any words to the multitude already spoken on the subject, unless I believed I had something fresh and practical to say—something definite to propose, which at best has only been hinted at hitherto.

I first began to think the problem possible of solution, one cold morning last December, when, visiting some destitute poor in Liverpool, I found in a certain house a baker out of work, and next door to him a tailor out of work, and next door again, a shoemaker in the same plight. I could not forget, for many days, that none of them had what could be called a pair of shoes, and none of them a proper suit of clothes, and they were all exceedingly anxious to get bread ; and yet, although one was a baker, and one

a tailor, and one a shoemaker, they could not stir hand or foot to help each other. I found on inquiry that their helplessness arose from the fact that if they produced any of these commodities, they must produce them for sale ; that in order to sell them they must take them to the market ; that the bread market, the shoe market, and the clothes market were already overstocked by men who had all the advantages of modern machinery to help their production ; and therefore the three neighbours could not compete ; and, because they could not compete, they could not help each other. I was not satisfied with the explanation, although it was the best I could get. I still wondered whether these three men could not, under proper conditions, have produced bread and clothing and shoes for each other, regardless of the market.

From this moment I began to believe that the poverty of England was, in a great measure, capable of reform, if one only knew where to begin.

And I have come to the conclusion that the workhouse is the proper place to begin, because here, at any rate, something has been already done towards a solution. A certain amount of property, here, is possessed by the poor. The workhouses seem to me to belong to the poor, if they belong to anybody. They contain fine healthy rooms, which might be made very comfortable if the nation were willing that they should be made comfortable. The needs of the poor are shelter, food, and clothing. Shelter is

provided by the workhouse buildings. We have thus a contribution towards the solution of our problem, which, if we started on new lines, we should have to provide somehow. Moreover, since the reign of Queen Bess, the nation has admitted a responsibility in respect of the very poor—it has decided that somehow they must be provided with the necessaries of life; that if there be a number of men who cannot compete with their fellows in the ordinary ways of commerce, and there earn a livelihood, they may come to the workhouse, and the nation will give to them the bare necessaries required to maintain a healthy life. The English nation has considered its unemployed poor; and so far—after two hundred years—our workhouse is the result. It would be an obvious folly to waste this result, such as it is, by attempting to start upon entirely new lines. Here, and here only, can we start with any prospect of success. The greatness of the undertaking, the momentous consequences, the history of previous national reforms—all prompt us to abide by the old traditions of England, and to secure progress by erecting our edifice upon the foundations laid by our forefathers.

One of the alleged difficulties of the problem has been the difficulty of finding any work for the poor—worth doing. Some time ago a rich man put aside his cravat and gloves, dressed himself in the usual garb of the industrious poor of London, and went

forth in search of work. He desired to see for himself whether there were any real difficulty in the matter. But he sought all day assiduously, and obtained none ; at every place where work was offered for ten men, there were a hundred hungry applicants. And he came home without wages and weary. The "Bitter Cry of Outcast London" bore similar testimony. It would seem that there is only honest work in England to occupy, at the utmost, two-thirds of the population. Machinery has so much increased the productiveness of each man's labour, that food, and shelter, and fuel, and clothing are produced by two-thirds in sufficient quantities to supply all who can buy. Warehouses of every kind, it seems, are full to repletion. And this idea has hitherto seemed to bar all progress. It has created the hopeless impression that it is impossible to give work to the unemployed—impossible to do anything except give doles.

Eager philanthropists have tried various kinds of experiments. They rush here and there crying, "What must be done?" They realize the fact that eight million people in the British Isles, by inevitable circumstances, cannot obtain honest employment ; and that this is a large cause of dishonesty and crime.

It is quite possible that these eight millions of the unemployed are not so industrious as the others. It is possible that they are not so skilful. But that fact throws no light upon the problem. If they were twice as industrious, it would make the matter worse as

things now go ; for, instead of having two-thirds employed, we should have less than one-half. And if they were twice as skilful, it would not help to solve the problem.

Lack of work seems, then, not to be an evil for which workmen can properly be blamed ; but to be an inevitable consequence of the way we live, and the way we conduct our business. Nevertheless, I do not wish to set any limits upon competition. I believe with all my strength in liberty ; and am the advocate of a new sort of free trade. In writing this book and advocating this remedy, I have taken no one into my consideration who is content to live under competitive conditions. It is best not to interfere with those who are content. I think only of those who are discontent, and of those who find themselves, in spite of their best endeavours, hungry, homeless, and ill-clad.

I am not, therefore, a revolutionary.

I honestly confess that I hate competition. I think it is bad in its influence upon boys in school, and worse in its influence upon men doing the world's work. Nevertheless, I am not intolerant of it. I would never join hands with Socialists in an attempt to suppress it. When a better way is found, it will begin to sicken, and at length it will die of itself. My only complaint against the conditions of life which now exist is that competition reigns supreme. Co-operative life is impossible ; it is strangled at the birth ; and I claim for it the right to exist—to exist

side by side with competitive life, that men may judge by actual test which is best—that men may be able to live under its conditions who desire to do so.

If it can be profitably done, it will give a larger measure of freedom to all men ; for even to those who do not want co-operative life, the possibility of it is a gift of greater freedom.

I find it difficult to classify myself. I am attached to many Socialist writers by my dislike of competition ; and I am separated from nearly all the English Socialist leaders to-day because I dislike communism ; that is to say, I believe that the possession of private property is an unmixed blessing to mankind. I am separated from still more of the Socialists, because I believe that payment to individuals should be proportioned to merit. If there is only one man in ten who is fit to be a foreman, then he ought to be paid as much as he is worth. His fitness in most cases is the result of his own effort ; and whether it be so or not, I am quite sure it serves the general good to pay him who holds a position of unusual responsibility a larger wage than a common irresponsible labourer. If by his foresight and skill the foreman teaches or compels the “hewer of wood and drawer of water” to double his usefulness ; if by his strength of will he can thus control for good the work of ten, I think it is wise to pay him a wage as large as possible, but it must not exceed the service he renders. In this matter I go further, I suppose, than the most orthodox ; for I

would mete out measure for measure, and nothing more.

I would take care that all healthy men had the opportunity of earning a livelihood easily ; but when this was done, I would excuse no man's indolence ; I would give to no beggar ; I would have the State provide starving idleness with a coffin, but nothing more ; and would teach the people to say good riddance to it. There are but two unpardonable sins. Selfish pride is one, idleness is the other.

I am not over-anxious that my proposal, in all its details, should be carried into practice to-day or to-morrow. But if no better scheme can be devised, I am supremely anxious that the basal thought be accepted and adopted at once ; namely, that self-help is better than the giving of doles, and that self-help is not impossible.

There is no room for contention here. If that be the fact, then our workhouse system should be reformed at once in accordance with it. We, at least, know where to begin. And if the task is once fairly begun on the right lines, I have faith that we may leave the outcome to God, who never yet allowed a good work to fail of its fruit.

## CHAPTER II.

## THE ENGLISH WORKHOUSE.

“Are you not moved, when all the sway of earth  
 Shakes, like a thing unfirm? O Cicero,  
 I have seen tempests, when the scolding winds  
 Have riv’d the knotty oaks: and I have seen  
 The ambitious ocean swell, and rage, and foam,  
 To be exalted with the threat’ning clouds:  
 But never till to-night, never till now,  
 Did I go through a tempest dropping fire.  
 Either there is a civil strife in heaven;  
 Or else the world, too saucy with the gods,  
 Incenses them to send destruction.”

SHAKESPEARE, *Julius Cæsar*.

“First Citizen. Then there is Polyphantes.

“*Embadius.* Dream not of him. He is a rank oligarch. Once he gave the people a banquet; for why? Not for that he loves the people, but that the people might love him. He hath a most royal pride in dispensing. If the people are contented to be beggars, he will delight to show his liberality by feasting them; if they style themselves brothers, it will be the office of his dignity to spurn them.”—JOHN STUART BLACKIE, *The Wise Men of Greece*.

“I SAW sitting on wooden benches,” says Thomas Carlyle, “in front of their bastile and within their ring wall and its railings, some hundred or more of these

men. Tall robust figures, young mostly or of middle age ; of honest countenance, thoughtful and even intelligent looking men. They sat there, by one another, but in a kind of torpor, especially in a silence which was very striking. In silence, for alas, what word was to be said? An earth all around crying—Come and till me, come and reap me: yet we sit here enchanted ! In the eyes and brows of these men hung the gloomiest expression, not of anger, but of grief, shame, and manifold inarticulate distress and weariness : they returned my glance with a glance that seemed to say, ' Do not look at us. We sit enchanted here ; we know not why. The sun shines and the earth calls ; and by the governing powers and im-potencies of England we are forbidden to obey. It is impossible, they tell us ! There was something that reminded me of Dante's Hell in the look of all this : and I rode swiftly away.'

The pauperism that exists now in England demands attention. A few years ago, according to the poor-law statistics, one person in every twenty received parochial support, and one in thirty does so yet. This change is due to the fact that public charities in all large towns are supplementing the work of the relieving officer. Matters are worse, however, than these figures would lead us to suppose. In England we do not keep any account showing the number of persons who have been helped by the parish in one year ; we merely strike an average and

furnish figures which show the average number in receipt of relief at one time. In Scotland, however, we have statistics of both, and the former gives a total twice as large as the latter. It is exceedingly probable that the multiple will be as great, if not greater, in England. If it is the same, then we are confronted by the mournful fact that every fifteenth person living in England to-day accepts parish relief in the course of a year.

According to the *Statistical Abstract* the receipts on account of the poor rate, and the disbursements from it, in the three kingdoms, excepting Scotland, from which there were no returns for the first six years of the series, were as shown in the table on page 12, from 1840 to 1883 both inclusive.

The table on page 13, giving statistics of the number and description of paupers relieved, and the cost, is confined to England and Wales, and it commences with 1849, because, as stated in an official note, that "is the first year for which the actual number of persons receiving relief on a given day can be returned." The day selected is the 1st of January in each year.

One of the most economically managed workhouses in England is that of the parish of Liverpool. The whole average cost per inmate, for his "provisions and necessaries" and his "clothing," for the year ending Lady-day, 1885, amounted to the small sum of three shillings and three halfpence a week. The

## ACCOUNT OF THE POOR RATE FROM 1840 TO 1884.

## RECEIPTS.

## EXPENDITURE.

Total amount of Poor Rates received, including  
Receipts in aid of Rates.

For the Relief and Management of  
the Poor.

For County,  
Police, and  
other  
purposes.

Total,  
Scotland  
and  
Ireland.

Total,  
England  
and  
Wales.

Total,  
United  
Kingdom.

Year.	England and Wales.	Scotland.	Ireland.	Total, United Kingdom.	Total, England and Wales.	Total, Scotland and Ireland.	Total, United Kingdom.
1840.	6,242,571	No	21,985	6,266,556	4,576,965	1,490,461	6,067,426
1842.	6,754,404	Returns.	208,557	6,962,961	4,971,498	1,800,273	6,711,771
1844.	7,066,797		288,073	7,348,870	5,024,084	1,960,117	7,270,939
1846.	6,988,666	306,944	278,364	7,573,974	4,954,204	1,792,381	7,456,232
1848.	7,976,094	533,073	1,067,447	10,190,614	6,180,764	1,866,721	8,047,485
1850.	7,500,405	583,590	2,084,290	10,168,375	5,305,022	1,965,199	7,366,221
1852.	6,870,358	541,889	1,424,446	8,654,703	4,897,685	1,921,661	8,19,346
1854.	7,251,281	570,713	1,052,250	8,874,244	5,282,853	2,035,977	7,317,930
1856.	8,496,458	631,000	793,980	9,941,438	6,904,244	2,207,768	8,212,012
1858.	8,499,120	668,473	545,459	9,760,632	6,976,541	2,571,116	8,449,057
1860.	8,033,526	671,516	508,943	9,213,985	5,454,964	2,620,940	8,075,904
1862.	8,83,990	712,227	667,745	10,216,902	6,077,922	2,728,152	8,800,974
1864.	9,874,559	776,455	745,534	11,396,558	6,423,381	3,257,999	9,680,480
1866.	9,958,450	796,574	759,474	11,513,998	6,439,517	3,549,664	9,198,121
1868.	11,472,843	842,893	848,971	13,164,707	7,498,059	3,886,534	11,386,593
1870.	12,044,012	908,004	817,901	13,769,977	7,644,307	4,093,306	11,737,613
1872.	12,668,938	888,002	838,579	14,335,519	8,007,403	4,373,975	12,381,778
1874.	12,803,762	853,432	1,014,560	14,675,754	7,664,957	5,186,050	12,852,007
1876.	12,905,395	870,436	1,044,470	14,820,391	7,335,858	5,130,084	12,636,942
1878.	13,489,712	870,198	1,014,521	15,374,431	7,388,650	5,926,947	13,615,297
1880.	14,001,512	911,752	1,037,475	16,076,739	8,035,010	6,977,992	14,994,302
1881.	14,340,592	939,367	1,126,010	16,466,569	8,102,136	6,288,126	14,399,262
1882.	14,918,273	963,614	1,239,489	17,121,376	8,232,472	6,32,267	14,864,739
1883.	15,238,111	958,844	1,202,977	17,459,932	8,353,292	6,793,887	15,057,179
	927,090	1,403,810	17,683,591	8,402,553	6,954,238	15,356,791	869,996

\* England and Ireland only.

### NUMBER AND COST OF PAUPERS IN ENGLAND AND WALES FROM 1849 TO 1885.

Year.		Adult Able-bodied Paupers.			All other Paupers (exclusive of Casuals).			Total of all Classes (exclusive of Casuals).			Year.	
Year.	Year.	Indoor.	Outdoor.	Total.	Indoor.	Outdoor.	Total.	Indoor.	Outdoor.	Total.	Cost of Relief.	
1884	1884	28,123	73,521	105,644	91,252	64,1523	732,475	119,375	815,044	934,479	\$ 5,792,963	
1885	1885	26,151	151,159	176,408	92,468	64,976	739,384	118,559	801,984	920,543	5,395,022	
1885	1885	23,322	131,203	154,525	87,243	61,9125	706,398	110,565	750,328	860,893	4,962,704	
1885	1885	19,552	117,566	137,318	86,608	60,445	697,106	104,413	728,011	804,424	4,879,685	
1885	1885	18,138	108,028	126,220	86,040	586,554	672,662	104,186	694,636	789,822	4,939,064	
1885	1885	21,989	114,288	136,277	91,687	590,373	683,060	113,676	704,661	818,337	5,818,853	
1885	1885	22,788	121,712	144,500	98,775	706,094	706,866	121,563	729,866	815,369	5,899,041	
1885	1885	23,496	128,679	152,174	102,107	623,492	725,593	125,597	752,170	877,751	6,004,244	
1885	1885	22,368	116,762	139,130	101,014	603,662	704,076	123,382	729,424	843,806	5,898,756	
1885	1885	23,281	143,323	166,604	103,200	618,307	714,582	120,481	728,755	908,186	5,878,544	
1885	1885	20,908	117,320	137,418	103,301	619,845	723,052	123,305	731,705	860,470	5,558,689	
1885	1885	18,882	111,879	136,761	100,144	614,175	714,259	119,026	731,994	851,020	5,454,964	
1885	1885	23,402	127,124	150,526	107,559	632,338	739,897	130,961	759,472	890,423	5,771,943	
1885	1885	26,578	144,606	171,646	116,132	611,907	778,580	143,191	802,975	946,161	6,077,922	
1885	1885	26,501	226,998	253,998	119,999	769,449	869,125	146,197	996,427	1,142,624	6,527,936	
1885	1885	23,663	163,987	186,750	114,144	708,395	822,539	137,807	871,452	1,009,283	6,424,385	
1885	1885	23,400	174,736	197,736	115,730	786,578	801,578	138,119	833,314	971,433	6,264,966	
1885	1885	22,290	127,030	149,320	115,696	655,328	771,024	137,986	782,338	920,344	6,1439,517	
1885	1885	23,399	134,909	158,398	121,230	678,635	799,865	144,629	813,544	959,173	6,959,840	
1885	1885	28,646	156,984	185,630	130,077	718,367	848,344	158,723	875,251	1,033,974	7,498,059	
1885	1885	29,826	153,336	183,313	133,245	723,142	856,387	163,071	879,478	7,673,100	8,669,397	
1885	1885	30,389	163,908	194,089	134,935	750,367	885,392	165,324	914,067	1,079,391	7,644,397	
1885	1885	29,320	160,519	189,839	135,969	786,188	892,987	165,289	916,337	1,081,926	7,886,724	
1885	1885	25,035	128,733	153,918	120,918	694,713	823,917	154,233	822,431	977,664	8,007,493	
1885	1885	22,053	107,644	127,067	129,553	630,995	759,648	151,605	735,739	887,345	8,692,169	
1885	1885	20,593	93,731	114,324	128,965	585,896	714,957	149,558	769,723	829,281	7,664,957	
1885	1885	21,196	94,013	115,209	132,515	567,893	700,379	153,711	664,786	815,876	7,488,152	
1885	1885	18,055	79,010	97,055	130,876	521,652	625,528	148,931	600,662	749,593	7,335,858	
1885	1885	18,993	73,813	92,866	138,198	497,346	633,544	157,191	571,159	728,359	7,400,034	
1885	1885	21,407	76,520	97,997	145,468	499,308	644,477	166,875	575,588	742,703	8,007,493	
1885	1885	22,053	96,283	118,933	125,920	588,798	681,193	175,345	625,081	800,426	7,829,819	
1885	1885	26,991	99,237	126,228	162,313	549,399	711,712	189,304	648,656	837,946	8,015,010	
1885	1885	26,357	111,812	163,109	166,280	588,876	691,977	188,438	613,688	803,126	8,102,568	
1885	1885	25,462	89,818	106,280	128,363	606,197	628,363	161,971	609,181	797,614	8,235,472	
1885	1885	23,486	80,490	105,357	165,519	528,420	693,939	190,386	608,010	799,295	8,355,224	
1885	1885	23,381	74,510	98,071	102,427	664,275	757,045	167,512	676,239	1,759,533	8,402,553	
1885	1885	23,000	74,510	98,071	102,427	664,275	757,045	167,512	676,239	1,759,533	8,444,892	

question “How to live on sixpence a day?” has been solved, and put into daily practice; for in the Liverpool workhouse the well-behaved pauper does nothing towards his own maintenance except keep his body and his dwelling-place clean. Nevertheless, the total poor’s-rate expenditure for the year amounted to £137,762 in the parish of Liverpool. And even when we deduct from this the amount paid as watch rate and education rate, we have still a sum of £103,062 spent on account of the poor, during the year. This expenditure is less than usual. In the year ending Lady-day, 1884, it amounted to £145,972. In 1883, it amounted to £140,799. In 1882, it amounted to £143,389.

The following table (page 15), relating to the management of this workhouse during the last four years, will doubtless be welcome to those who take an interest in social economy.

I wish to make two comments upon these figures. First, that this workhouse does not by any means relieve the whole of the Liverpool poor. There is the Toxteth Park Union, which has a workhouse in Liverpool; there is a West Derby Union, with its workhouse situated in Mill Road, Liverpool, which has an average number of 4340 paupers; and there is the Prescot Union Workhouse, also having a large diocese in Liverpool; there is the Liverpool Central Relief and Charity Organization Society, established for visiting and relieving deserving persons

## PARTICULARS OF THE LIVERPOOL PARISH WORKHOUSE FROM 1882 TO 1885.

	Year ending Lady-day, 1882.	Year ending Lady-day, 1883.	Year ending Lady-day, 1884.	Year ending Lady-day, 1885.
Average number of inmates of workhouse ... ..	2970	2961	2870	297
Average number of inmates of industrial schools (inmates are children from the age of two to the age of sixteen years) ... ..	932	927	934	851
Average number of recipients of out-relief ... ..	2591	2377	2514	2692
Total, exclusive of casual ward	6493	6265	6318	6460
Average weekly cost per head of inmates of workhouse—				
Provisions and necessaries ...	3 2 <sup>10</sup> <sub>11</sub> 0 3 <sup>2</sup> <sub>3</sub>	3 3 <sup>10</sup> <sub>11</sub> 0 3 <sup>2</sup> <sub>3</sub>	3 1 <sup>40</sup> <sub>3</sub> 0 2 <sup>3</sup> <sub>3</sub>	2 9 <sup>10</sup> <sub>3</sub> 0 4 <sup>7</sup> <sub>3</sub>
Clothing ... ..				
Average weekly cost per head of inmates of industrial schools—				
Provisions and necessaries ...	2 3 <sup>15</sup> <sub>12</sub> 0 6 <sup>12</sup> <sub>2</sub>	2 4 <sup>5</sup> <sub>11</sub> 0	2 3 <sup>5</sup> <sub>4</sub> 0	2 1 <sup>1</sup> <sub>4</sub> 0 5 <sup>1</sup> <sub>4</sub>
Clothing ... ..				
Contract prices—				
Flour, seconds (per cwt.)	11 8 <sup>1</sup> <sub>2</sub> to 15 0	10 7 to 12 0	9 9 to 11 3	8 5 to 9 3
Beef (per cwt.) ... ..	51 4 , 55 10	54 0 , 67 8	51 4 , 65 0	49 0 , 52 0
Coal (per ton) ... ..	8 0 , 8 6	7 9 , 8 2	8 0 , 8 6	8 3 , 8 6
Potatoes (per cwt.) ... ..	2 3 , 4 10	2 3 , 4 10	2 2 , 5 12	1 9 , 2 1

in temporary distress ; there is the Toxteth Aid Society, and there is the Dock Labourers' Relief Society, all having paid visitors and large funds ; there are several refuges for the homeless and the destitute ; and there are upwards of four hundred churches and chapels in Liverpool, all of which have cases of poverty which are relieved from week to week by their more compassionate members.

I want next to call the reader's attention to the fact that these are only average numbers. The figures given refer to those in receipt of relief at one time, and not to all who received relief during the year. A large proportion of the paupers receive help during only a part of the year ; some only a few weeks ; some a few months. If an account had been kept of the actual number of persons who had received parish relief during one year, we should have had a total last year of at least 20,000 instead of the 6460, which is the average number of recipients connected with the Liverpool parish workhouse at any one time.

“ We endeavour to make the life of the pauper a life that no man would submit to, unless under absolute necessity.” These are the exact words of my guide, spoken as he led me through the parish workhouse. And, again, “ The theory of the workhouse is, that it is to be a place made intentionally uncomfortable.” The following is the outline of an inmate’s daily life.

It is an order issued by the Local Government Board, and has all the force of an Act of Parliament.

## FORM A.

	Time of rising.	Interval for breakfast.	Time for work.	Interval for dinner.	Time for work.	Interval for supper.	Time for going to bed.
From March 25 to September 29.	Quarter before 6	From half-past 6 to 7	From 7 to 12	From 12 to 1	From 1 to 6	From 6 to 7	8 o'clock.
From September 29 to March 25.	Quarter before 7	From half-past 7 to 8	From 8 to 12	From 12 to 1	From 1 to 6	From 6 to 7	8 o'clock.

The visitor to the workhouse is certain to be struck by the extraordinary amount of yawning which goes on. Nothing in my estimation contributes so much to the mournfulness of the spectacle as this incessant yawning of the inmates morning, noon, and night. It impresses one with the utter hopelessness of their lives. We feel that they have lost all interest in duty or pleasure, and that death cannot be any other than a welcome guest, let him come as he may.

That part of the "work" mentioned in "Form A," which is of a productive nature is confined to "hair-picking," that is to say, the separation of the particles used by upholsterers in stuffing furniture, carriages, etc. The whole proceeds, however, from this source amounted only to £49 7s. 11d. for the year. Oakum-picking is only given to the inmates as a punishment. Part of the tailoring of the establishment is done by inmates; shoes are repaired only, but not made; the bread required for indoor maintenance and for

outdoor relief is baked on the premises and some of the men help the cook. The women do the domestic work of the workhouse—the cleaning, the washing, and the laundry work. And this is all!

In the casual ward, oakum-picking is carried on regularly, and Indian corn is ground in hand-mills. For the most part, the ten hours daily which are set apart for "work" are spent unprofitably—the men, so far as I saw, resolutely keeping their hands in their pockets and yawning.

Out of the total of 6460, the clerk to the vestry informed me that 2000 were incapable. All men and women between the age of sixteen and sixty are classed as "able bodied," if they are not insane, and if they are in good health. The rest are called "incapable." It is quite probable, however, that there are some inmates between the age of sixty and seventy who are not actually incapable of doing light work. I know many such who are able to render useful service in and about the farmyard—tending pigs, poultry, and the like, even until they are seventy-five years of age, and they are brighter and happier because of their usefulness, and because they have an interest in life.

An instance of the way in which human labour is wasted in our workhouses occurs in the case of a woman I knew, who worked early and late in one of the courts of Liverpool making sailors' trousers. The garments were made of blue serge; the cloth was cut

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out in the tailor's shop, and sent to this woman to be sewn together. She made generally twelve pairs of trousers in a week, for which she received nine shillings. Circumstances, into which I need not enter, drove her for refuge into the workhouse, where she was put to the wretched task of scrubbing every day with soap and water the same flight of stairs, which, for the most part, was an unnecessary task and a waste of good materials. I have seen an inmate go down upon her knees and begin "cleaning" a floor, so white and clean that I could have enjoyed my dinner upon it. And yet she has made a beautiful white lather with good soap, and spread it over the floor, and eventually taken it up again, put it back into the water, and then cast it into the drain. It is no uncommon sight. The inquisitive taxpayer in any of our 649 poor-law unions may see a similar task in process by walking as far as his nearest workhouse.

The few exceptions to this rule which exist in the workhouse are very curious, and under the present poor-law, are very unjust. I mentioned the fact that in the Liverpool Parish Workhouse there is a bakery where the paupers' bread is baked. There are fourteen men employed here—six of whom are paupers; eight of whom are ordinary bakers, living in homes of their own, outside the workhouse, and receiving the usual wages paid to bakers. One of the paupers engaged in this work is deaf and dumb. He is a most industrious man. If he were doing the same work

elsewhere he would earn 26s. per week. Here he receives nothing for his work except "clothing and maintenance," which cost 3s. 2d. a week. He is disfranchised; he is called a pauper and yet he maintains himself and contributes no less than 22s. 10d. per week towards the maintenance of others. It seems to me that he does more for his country, in proportion to his means, than any citizen in Liverpool.

If any pauper wishes to leave the workhouse, he may do so twenty-four hours after he has given notice to the governor of his intention. If he has a wife and family, he must take them with him when he leaves. Occasionally, however, the guardians consent to take charge of his family for a short period, if they consider that the relief will help him to obtain work. It was found that a certain class of paupers began to use the workhouse as a place to dwell in for a few days at a time. If the publican cast them into the streets in a drunken condition late at night, they went to the workhouse, and next morning, as soon as they were sober, they went to claim their discharge, and were thus visiting the workhouse at short intervals all the year round. In order to put a check upon this, the "Pauper Inmates Discharge and Regulation Act" was passed in 1871, which altered the notice of discharge. The board of guardians are by it empowered to direct that every pauper inmate of the workhouse shall be detained as follows: When a pauper has not previously dis-

charged himself from the workhouse within one month before giving the notice, he may be detained for twenty-four hours. When a pauper has discharged himself once or oftener within one month before giving the notice, he may be detained for forty-eight hours. When a pauper has discharged himself more than twice within two months before giving the notice, he may be detained for seventy-two hours.

The visiting committee of the workhouse may, in the interval between the meetings of the guardians, exempt any pauper wholly or partially from the operation of the provisions as to detention above referred to.

The punishments for offences in the workhouse at present in use are the following :—

“ Any pauper who absconds or escapes from, or leaves the workhouse during the time for which he may be detained in the workhouse ; or

“ Who refuses or neglects, whilst an inmate of the workhouse, to do the work or observe the regulations prescribed ; or

“ Who wilfully gives a false name or makes a false statement for the purpose of obtaining relief,— may, on conviction, be sentenced as “ an idle and disorderly person ” to one month’s imprisonment in the house of correction with hard labour.

“ Any pauper who commits any of the offences above specified, after having been previously convicted as “ an idle or disorderly person ; ” or

"Who wilfully destroys or injures his own clothes or damages any of the property of the guardians, may, on conviction, be sentenced as a "rogue and vagabond" to three months' imprisonment in the house of correction with hard labour."

"We endeavour to make the life of the pauper a life that no man would submit to, unless under absolute necessity," said my guide on a recent occasion. There is nothing which tends to do this so much as the separation of a working man from his wife and children immediately on his admission to the workhouse. When I have urged starving families to accept the food and shelter and clothing which the poor-law offers to such families, the father has often protested to me that he would gladly accept the life of the workhouse, with all its shame, if it were not for the separation which it enforces from those who frequently are the only people in the world who love him. *"Hear ye the sacred injunction of our Lord Jesus Christ, respecting the union of man and woman in wedlock, 'What God hath joined together let not man put asunder."*" The most pathetic case arising from this source, perhaps, is the separation of the aged man and wife, who have weathered the storm of life side by side, and at last, say at sixty years of age, have been compelled to seek a haven in the workhouse. The theory no doubt is, that paupers do not love each other. It would add somewhat to the poor-law expenditure to have a married persons' ward ; they might occasionally

have children, who would probably be a burden to the ratepayer. Nevertheless, it is a cause of acute suffering in those cases where the poor do truly love in wedlock.

Adversity does not always loosen the bands of conjugal love. Often man and wife are bound more and more closely together, and their mutual esteem is made sweeter and nobler by every grief they bear, and by every calamity that ill fortune sets down at their door. Two winters ago, permission had been given to a number of musical ladies to give a concert every month in the women's ward of one of our Lancashire workhouses. One of the singers, a kind-hearted but thoughtless lady, attempted to sing the well-known ballad of "Darby and Joan." She did not finish the song. Half-way through she stopped ; but it was too late to remedy the mischief. She had tampered with an old wound, that had never fairly healed, and the poor wretched inmates wept in a most pitiful manner.

#### "DARBY AND JOAN."

" Darby dear, we are old and grey,  
Fifty years since our wedding-day ;  
Shadow and sun for every one  
As the years roll on.  
Darby dear, when the world went wry,  
Hard and sorrowful then was I ;  
Ah ! lad, how you cheered me then.  
'Things will be better, sweet wife, again !'  
Always the same, Darby, my own,  
Always the same to your old wife Joan,  
Always the same to your old wife Joan.

“ Darby dear, but my heart was wild  
When we buried our baby child,  
Until you whispered, ‘ Heaven knows best ! ’  
And my heart found rest.  
Darby dear, ‘twas your loving hand  
Show’d the way to the better land.  
Ah ! lad, as you kissed each tear  
Life grew better and heaven more near.  
Always the same, Darby, my own,  
Always the same to your old wife Joan,  
Always the same to your old wife Joan.

“ Hand in hand when our life was May,  
Hand in hand when our hair is gray ;  
Shadow and sun for every one  
As the years roll on.

Hand in hand when the long night-tide  
Gently covers us side by side.  
Ah ! lad, though we know not when,  
Love will be with us for ever then.

Always the same, Darby, my own,  
Always the same to your old wife Joan,  
Always the same to your old wife Joan.”

Let those who can, imagine the effect of these words, sung under such painful circumstances. This song henceforth was forbidden at the concerts, and the lady who once attempted it never could find heart to sing anything again.

It seems to me that, at present, concerts are not very appropriate in our workhouses. A jubilant song poured into a sad heart is like sand between our teeth. A song expressive of gratitude is just as bad when it comes to a thankless heart. And, as we have seen, the songs of faithful love awaken so terribly the fangs of a gnawing regret—that they are forbidden.

The following is the dietary for healthy inmates:—

DIETARY FOR HEALTHY INMATES, BROWNLOW HILL WORKHOUSE, PARISH OF LIVERPOOL.

	Able-bodied Inmates of all ages, and for Children from 9 to 10 years.	Infirm and aged.	Children from 5 to 9 years.	Children from 2 to 5 years.	Infants under 2 years.
<b>BREAKFAST . . .</b>					
Sunday . . .	1 $\frac{1}{2}$ pint porridge $\frac{3}{4}$ pint buttermilk	6 ozs. bread 1 pint coffee $\frac{1}{2}$ oz. butter	1 pint porridge $\frac{3}{4}$ pint buttermilk	4 ozs. bread, or $\frac{1}{4}$ pint porridge $\frac{1}{2}$ pint new milk.	2 ozs. white bread. $\frac{1}{2}$ pint new milk. $\frac{1}{2}$ oz. sugar.
Monday . . .	4 ozs. cooked meat $\frac{1}{2}$ lb. rice	4 ozs. cooked meat $\frac{1}{2}$ lb. rice	3 ozs. cooked meat $\frac{1}{2}$ lb. rice	2 ozs. cooked meat 6 ozs. rice	2 ozs. best bread. $\frac{1}{2}$ pint new milk. $\frac{1}{2}$ oz. sugar.
Tuesday . . .	1 $\frac{1}{2}$ lb. scouse		1 pint rice soup 6 ozs. bread	$\frac{1}{2}$ pint rice soup 4 ozs. bread	2 ozs. best bread. $\frac{1}{2}$ pint new milk. $\frac{1}{2}$ oz. sugar.
Wednesday . . .	6 ozs. bread 1 pint cocoa		1 lb. scouse	$\frac{1}{2}$ lb. scouse	2 ozs. best bread. $\frac{1}{2}$ pint new milk. $\frac{1}{2}$ oz. sugar.
Thursday . . .	2 ozs. cheese 6 ozs. bread 1 pint broth		6 ozs. bread 1 pint cocoa	4 ozs. bread $\frac{1}{2}$ pint cocoa	2 ozs. best bread. $\frac{1}{2}$ pint new milk. $\frac{1}{2}$ oz. sugar.
Friday . . .	1 $\frac{1}{2}$ pint pea soup 6 ozs. bread		1 $\frac{1}{2}$ pint pea soup 4 ozs. bread	1 pint pea soup 6 ozs. bread	2 ozs. best bread. $\frac{1}{2}$ pint new milk. $\frac{1}{2}$ oz. sugar.
Saturday . . .	1 $\frac{1}{2}$ lb. scouse		1 $\frac{1}{2}$ lb. scouse	1 lb. scouse	2 ozs. best bread. $\frac{1}{2}$ pint new milk. $\frac{1}{2}$ oz. sugar.
<b>DINNER . . .</b>					
SUPPER . . .	1 $\frac{1}{2}$ pint gruel 6 ozs. bread		1 pint tea 6 ozs. bread $\frac{1}{2}$ oz. butter	$\frac{1}{2}$ pint gruel 6 ozs. bread	2 ozs. best bread. $\frac{1}{2}$ pint new milk. $\frac{1}{2}$ oz. sugar.

NOTE.—4 ozs. vegetables and 8 ozs. rice may be substituted for the  $\frac{1}{2}$  lb. rice at dinner.

The following regulation will help the reader to understand the dietary:—

LIVERPOOL WORKHOUSE.

QUANTITIES OF THE SEVERAL INGREDIENTS TO BE USED IN THE PREPARATION OF THE DIETARY, PER GALLON.

PEA SOUP.	COFFEE.
Liquor of boiled meat. 1½ lb. peas. 5 ozs. carrots, etc.	1½ oz. coffee. ½ oz. chicory. 5 ozs. sugar. 1 pint milk.
BROTH.	COCOA.
Liquor of boiled meat. 10 ozs. barley. 5 ozs. oatmeal.	6 ozs. cocoa. 2 ozs. sugar. ½ gallon milk.
RICE SOUP.	COOKED RICE.
Liquor of boiled meat. 10 ozs. rice. 10 ozs. carrots.	<i>To make One Pound.</i> 3½ ozs. raw rice.
PORRIDGE.	SCOUSE.
1½ lb. oatmeal.	<i>To make One and a Half Pounds.</i> 3 ozs. meat. 15 ozs. peeled potatoes. 2 ozs. carrots, etc.
GRUEL.	RICE STEW.
10 ozs. oatmeal. 4 ozs. treacle.	<i>To make One and a Half Pounds.</i> 3½ ozs. raw rice. 1 oz. onions. 4 ozs. Australian meat.
TEA.	BUTTERING BREAD FOR HEALTHY INMATES.
1 oz tea. 4 ozs. sugar. 1 pint milk.	Kitchen fat may be used in the proportion of <i>one to three</i> of butter, either separately or mixed.

Mr. Hugh C. Farrie, the special commissioner of the *Liverpool Daily Post*, published a series of articles during the winter of 1885, in one of which he gives an account of the distribution of outdoor relief at the parish workhouse. As I shall have occasion frequently to refer to his work—to avail myself of his accurate habits of observation—a passing reference to him and his work may be acceptable to the reader of this book. The articles were considerably above the average in journalistic merit, and attracted great attention. They were republished in the spring, together with an introductory letter by the Rt. Hon. J. Chamberlain, M.P., who writes, “It is most desirable that the questions suggested by your articles should be carefully considered by politicians and statesmen. If this country is to be protected from serious and pressing dangers, some remedy must be sought for the inequality of conditions so clearly brought to light by you, and some means must be found for making life more hopeful for the industrious poor.”

Mr. Farrie describes Liverpool outdoor parish relief as follows:—

“The forms through which applicants for parish assistance have to go may not, perhaps, be familiar to everybody. It may, therefore, be worth while to devote a little space to describing them. Imagine a long, somewhat bleak room, four times as long as wide. Down the longer side of it runs a very wide

counter, divided into eight boxes, each of which communicates with an outer passage by a separate door. In each box, on the inner side of the counter, sits a relieving officer, and at nine o'clock in the morning the doors are thrown open. Those whose poverty has driven them to the last resort of the starving and the first resort of many of the shiftless, begin to pour in. The parish is divided into eight districts, and each applicant is directed to his particular box upon giving his place of residence. On entering the box, he is questioned by the relieving officer—and let me here at once bear testimony to the tact, firmness, and kindness with which these officials perform their duties—as to the causes which have driven him to the parish, and the nature of the relief which he requires . . .

"Men of all ages and types, women and children, pour one by one for several hours into these boxes. Many of them, perhaps most, are known to the officers, and their business is transacted with expedition. Others, applying for the first time, are closely questioned, and receive a slip of paper, either entitling them to see the doctor or to go before the committee as applicants for outdoor relief. The process is a wearisome one, and a sad one, and soon familiarizes the observer with all phases of deserved and undeserved destitution. There is a vast fear among comfortably off people of pauperizing the poor. Rarely is any novel suggestion made which is not immediately

met by the contention that it will 'pauperize the people.' . . .

"The difficulty which is encountered by parish officials is, not that men and women want to become paupers, but that they stupidly decline to become paupers when the only alternatives are disease, misery, and starvation. It is the most difficult thing in the world to get hundreds upon hundreds of persons who in Liverpool are pinched by want, chilled by bitter winter weather, and racked by pain and anxiety, to accept the pittance which the parish doles out to those who will have it. Many do take it, but the majority only receive it when lingering death stares them in the face. . . .

"Let us pass on to the relieving committee which sits in a small room containing an arrangement not altogether unlike the bar of a police court. The applicants enter at one door, stand at the bar, tell their story, and then pass out at the other. On this occasion two gentlemen are sitting on the committee, both of whom have large experience, both of whom evidently feel the responsibility of the duties they are called upon to perform, and who manifest a sympathy and even tenderness towards those who seek help, which is very pleasant to witness. The cases, of which while we watch perhaps fifty are taken, are of every possible variety. First there comes in a pale-faced, neatly dressed woman, with a child in her arms. She is only a labourer's wife, but in her voice,

manner, and appearance, there is that unmistakable suggestion of instinctive refinement which is to be found in the best of all classes. The woman has never had relief before, and tells briefly and frankly her story of distress. Under the kindly questions of the chairman her composure gives way. At length she is asked, 'If you have suffered so much, why did you not come to us before?' The poor creature's mouth twitches with an agony of grief and shame which is positively heartrending to witness, and, with a sob that is terrible to hear, she replies, 'I didn't want to owe anything to anybody while I could help it, and I can't help it now.' The relieving officer warmly supports her plea for assistance, and the chairman, whispering, 'This is a genuine case of distress,' awards her four shillings a week for a period of four weeks. . . .

"Here is an instance of the misery wrought by men who won't work and won't seek relief. A dilapidated woman, the wife of a tailor, comes for assistance. The husband has repeatedly been visited by the relieving officer. He has been asked to 'go before the board.' He will do nothing. 'Does he work?' 'That's his business, and the relieving officer had better take his departure.' The wife and children are starving; the woman comes before the committee. 'Is the husband here?' 'No.' 'Can you fetch him?' 'No; he won't come.' 'But I can only give relief through him,' and, half-dazed, the woman begins to

cry ; and then some pretext or other is discovered by the chairman and the superintendent, and between them they manage to allow four shillings a week to the woman, with the comforting promise to her that they will apply strong measures to the husband. This woman was in service before she was married, and lived in good places. . . .

“ An inspection of the pay-room and the department where relief in kind is given must conclude our visit. A stone passage, where hungry men and women stand in a row with big tickets in their hands, stamped with numbers that perhaps only one out of every dozen applicants can read, leads to a place like a very big ticket office at a theatre. Two officials are inside, one who calls a number and an amount from the list before him, and the other who takes the sum mentioned from great bowls of money at his side and hands it to the person who presents the ticket with the number called. Across the yard is a large room with half a dozen long tables and long high shelves, all piled high with loaves of bread, which when broken are found to be white and sweet, well made and well baked. At the back of the counter is a huge heap of packets of tea, sugar, meal, and other groceries. Relief in kind is administered in two forms. Every one receives a ticket for so much bread, either six-pence or a shilling's worth, or whatever the amount may be. All, or nearly all, are compelled to take bread. Besides this, if the case requires it, the appli-

cant receives a second ticket marked for a given sum, and is entitled to choose from the groceries whatever he or she may desire, and in any quantities up to the limit of the amount awarded. All through the morning haggard women stream in and out of this room, coming in empty-handed and going away laden with great loaves and pounds of tea. I saw one woman who was receiving for herself and a neighbour—the helpfulness of the poor to one another is worthy of the warmest recognition—who piled up on the counter seven loaves, two large packets of meal, and parcels of other groceries which I soon ceased to attempt to count. She was not a very big woman, and did not look very strong. She had with her a little girl, presumably her daughter, and how the pair contrived to carry that mountain of provisions down to Scotland Road, where they live, is a problem which has afforded me untold perplexity ever since."

In order to ascertain whether or not the particulars of the Liverpool Parish Workhouse were in any degree different from the other workhouses of England, I wrote to one of the overseers of the West Derby Union, asking for a statement of average income and expenditure, and for any special information which he might deem it expedient to give me.

The information given was as follows. In the West Derby Union, which is situated in South West Lancashire, there are twenty-six townships. The total average expenditure in this union, on account of

paupers, is £100,000 per annum. On the average, a sum of £300 per annum is realized on the sale of pigs, and a sum of £60 per annum on the sale of hay. The reason why we keep pigs, says my informant, is the fact that there is a clause in the poor-law which forbids us to serve to the paupers any piece of bread which has been served at a previous meal. So we keep pigs to eat up the bread which would otherwise be wasted. The "work" done by the able-bodied in the "house" consists of stone-breaking; but there is a *loss* of sixpence per ton on the work! The able-bodied women sew, and knit, and wash, and scour.

"It costs us weekly four shillings per head of paupers to distribute four shillings per head; or, to put it in another way, and more explicitly—

We keep an average of 2000 paupers in the workhouse at a cost of 4s. per week ...	£400
We pay to paupers for outdoor relief an average of 3s. per week, which amounts to	£350
Weekly expenditure on account of paupers ...	£750
	52 weeks
	£39,000

The actual average cost, however, is not £39,000, but ... ... ...	£50,000
And the average expenses of collection and distribution are ... ... ...	£50,000
Total cost per annum ...	£100,000"

And so we find that the Liverpool Parish Work-

house may be taken as a fair example of a well-managed establishment, under our present poor-law administration. It may be accepted for all the purposes of argument and reference, as a just type of the English workhouse as it exists to-day.

## CHAPTER III.

### THE EFFECTS OF INDOOR, OUTDOOR, AND CASUAL PARISH RELIEF.

“Whoever you are ! motion and reflection are especially for you,  
The divine ship sails the divine sea for you.

“Whoever you are ! you are he or she for whom the earth is  
solid and liquid,  
You are he or she for whom the sun and the moon hang in  
the sky,  
For none more than you are the present and the past,  
For none more than you is immortality.

“Each man to himself and each woman to herself, is the word  
of the past and the present, and the true word of  
immortality ;  
No one can acquire for another—not one,  
No one can grow for another—not one.”

WALT WHITMAN, *A Song of the Rolling Earth.*

“Do you not fear  
Lest you should grow proficient in your trade,  
And murder men till men are scarce on earth,  
That Heaven will cramp you with some sudden death ?”

CHARLES WELLS, *Joseph and his Brethren.*

BEFORE I proceed in this chapter to examine the  
whole range of parish relief, I am anxious to assure

my reader beforehand, that the failure of the system is in no measure due to the type of men who have been poor-law officials. They have often been condemned as a harsh and cruel class. In many cases I have found the officials to be attentive and humane ; but even when they are guilty of the charge, they may well retort that the conditions under which their lives are spent, tend to make them so ; and no examination of the effects of parish relief would be quite complete which did not take cognizance of the fact that its moral influence upon the relieving officers is generally bad. They are often taken from useful spheres of labour, and are given the unwelcome task of prying into homes that would be sacred if it were not for their poverty and hunger ; and the task of defending the ratepayer against the wiles of the rogue and the impostor. It is inevitable that a large proportion of them must get every day more churlish and suspicious in their dealings with the poor. If we had our present poor-law administered by saints it would have failed just the same. Its failure has been due to the radical defects of the system, and not to the blindness or the hardness of the men whose duty it has been to work it.

Let me, however, exclude the workhouse hospitals from this indictment. Here, in the workhouse hospital (as in all hospitals) we find a trace of that charity which covers a multitude of sins. The long, sweet-smelling dormitories, the spotless beds, the comfortable rooms, the gentle nurses—both men and women

(some of whom have left comfortable and even wealthy homes, and are labouring here from the desire to serve Christ)—who tend the sick poor, the scrupulous cleanliness everywhere,—of this I have no word to say which is not a word of praise. As far as it goes, it is blessed ; its influence cannot be injurious ; it must often awaken hope in the hearts of the sick poor, and cause them to believe again in the natural goodness of their brother-men.

Here, however, our praise must end. With this exception, parish relief is injurious, and tends to propagate the evil it was designed to ameliorate.

Gifts are sacred things. We cannot tamper with them with impunity. Gifts are tokens of love. If they are accepted as such, our hearts are enriched and our natures ennobled by them. But to accept a gift, when the gift is not the token of love, this is humiliating ; this is degrading in the last degree.

Parish relief is not the gift of love. It is not even a token of respect. The rates are collected by men whose motive is a monthly wage. The rates are paid unwillingly, under a threat of legal proceedings. The administration of our public charity is far more mischievous in its moral effects to-day under the poor-law, than it was under the Roman Catholic orders of the fourteenth century. The hospitallers were bound to relieve casual destitution ; the monasteries were renowned for their almsgiving ; the begging friars were the nurses of the sick ; there were houses for

wayfarers where doles of bread and beer and clothing were given ; and in many instances the nuns were nurses and midwives. And although there may have been selfish appropriations of the poor's money from time to time, I do not suppose that they kept as much as is now openly paid to the poor-law officials in England ; but be this as it may, the distributors of relief in those days were men and women who went to the work from the true charitable motive ; and the money collected and given was much more a token of loving interest and compassion than it is now.

There are three kinds of parish relief, all of which produce bad effects upon the recipients ; each kind of relief is blighted by the same evil ; its gifts are not the gifts of love. In this respect the public organization of charity is always at a disadvantage, as compared with the private charity of individuals, although the former is not so liable to be imposed upon. It was a sense of this truth which made me appreciate and enjoy Charles Lamb's "Complaint of the Decay of Beggars in the Metropolis."

The act of giving doles through the State, is wrong in principle. It never by any chance awakens gratitude of the nobler sort. It is given, and accepted, contemptuously. Mr. Herbert Spencer is right, in his article on "The Sins of Legislators," when he contends that the radical distinction between family ethics, and state ethics must be maintained ; that

while generosity must be the essential principle of the one, justice must be the essential principle of the other.

“Our present system of poor-law administration,” says Mr. Shadwell on page 547,\* “is an attempt to reconcile two conflicting theories, represented by indoor and outdoor relief respectively. The former is that the State ought only to provide for the destitute ; and, consistently with this view, indoor relief is refused in all cases where the applicant has any property left. An evil inseparable from such a system is, that it reduces the poor to absolute destitution, and renders it extremely difficult for a person who has once been received into a workhouse to become independent again. In order to mitigate the hardships of this system, outdoor relief is given to those who are able to earn something, but not enough, to support themselves ; but this practice, though it is more palatable to the recipients, and, in many cases less burdensome to the ratepayers, is, in the long-run more productive of pauperism. . . . If outdoor relief is given, it is not regarded as being equally disgraceful with indoor relief ; and those who would rather provide for their relative themselves than send him to the workhouse” (*i.e.* as an inmate) “will withhold assistance if they think that an allowance” (*i.e.* outdoor relief) will be given.”

\* “A System of Political Economy,” by John Lancelot Shadwell. Trübner & Co.

Let us now turn our attention to the particulars of indoor relief.

Mrs. S. A. Barnett, of St. Jude's Vicarage, Whitechapel, commences her excellent article, "The Young Women in Our Workhouses" \* as follows :—

"Those of us who have ever entered a workhouse will not easily forget some of the sad impressions then made upon the mind. We remember the large dreary wards—

" . . . the walls so blank  
That my shadow I thank  
For sometimes falling there"—

the cleanliness which is oppressive, the order which tells of control in every detail. But gloomy as these are, they are but the necessary surroundings of many of the people who come to end their days amid them. On their faces is written failure, having been proved useless to the world, they are cast away out of sight, and too often out of mind, on to this sad rubbish heap of humanity. A closer examination of this rubbish heap, however, shows that it is not all worthless. Besides the many whom dissolute, improvident, or vicious courses bring to the workhouse, there are some who are more sinned against than sinful ; some who are merely unfortunate, and who by a little wise help, wisely given, may become useful members of society."

Our indoor workhouse system is open to the

\* *Macmillan's Magazine*, June, 1879.

charge that it develops and encourages a levelling down tendency. The merely unfortunate are placed in close contact with the vicious, and, as they have little occupation, conversation is inevitable ; and the conversation turns with unerring precision upon the past adventures of the inmates. A large proportion of the knowledge acquired by the inmates, within the walls of the workhouse, is the knowledge of evil. In Massachusetts an attempt has been made to avert this evil by opening workhouses for the accommodation of different classes of paupers. The merely unfortunate are kept in buildings separate from those who are degraded morally. The fact that we take the pauper under our control ; that we shelter him, and keep him in food and clothes and fuel which he has not earned ; that we demand from him an implicit obedience in matters of daily occurrence ; that we subject him to rigorous discipline of an unreasonable sort—all this tends to rob him of his manhood. In principle, I see no difference between his position and that of the most abject slave. And, so far as I have observed, it brings forth the same type of character. It will help us to realize the type, when I say that once, on the occasion of a fire taking place at the Brownlow Hill Workhouse in Liverpool, the inmates are reported to have danced in a kind of idiotic joy at the sight of so much destruction of property ; they did not attempt to render the slightest assistance towards putting out the fire, and seemed to regard the loss of their only

shelter as a matter for rejoicing, because it would be a source of regret to their masters—the public of Liverpool.

We supply the needs of the body, but we rob the recipient of his sense of honour. We make him conscious of a worthlessness which, as a man, he ought never to feel. We pauperize him indeed ; for we leave him poorer than we find him.

If this method of treating poverty is necessary and inevitable, if it is the best method that human wisdom can devise, it is a mournful subject to reflect upon ; but if it is found to be an unnecessary method, then the degradation it entails, becomes an unpardonable sin, the shame of which lies upon the conscience of all English-speaking men, until it be rectified.

We will next glance at the effects of outdoor relief.

“In one house I entered there was a large loaf on the table,” says the commissioner of the *Liverpool Courier*,\* “and the wife was about to divide a portion of it amongst the family, consisting of herself, the father and five children, the latter eying the bread with painful avidity and earnestness. ‘Well,’ I said cheerily, ‘I am glad to see you with such a good loaf.’ The woman, without answering, but with a quivering lip, turned the top of the loaf towards me,

\* *Liverpool Weekly Courier*, Saturday, June 26, 1886. Paragraph headed “Starvation and Socialism.”

and there, branded upon it in large letters, was the word 'Parish !'

"This," continues our commissioner, "this may be a necessary indignity which the authorities have to put upon honest poverty, but if it is a necessary precaution against possible fraud, 'tis a pity it is so, for it has wounded many a brave heart, and brought to many a home an unnecessary degradation."

It cannot be denied that outdoor relief is mischievous, both to individuals and to the State. However it be administered, it helps a man to live without working. It thus robs him of his sense of independence, and therefore it is injurious to individuals. It was pointed out by Mr. Arnold Toynbee\* that, under the old poor-law, cases had occurred in which "mothers threatened to leave their children out of doors if they were not paid for keeping them." It is mischievous in its influence upon society, because it checks the operation of a Divine law which has ordained that if a man will not work he shall not eat. Its tendency is to reduce the rewards of the industrious wealth-producing classes, and to encourage and develop the class of dangerous half-fed parasites. If we answer the question, proposed by Bishop Berkeley,† in the affirmative : "Whether the drift and

\* "Lectures on the Industrial Revolution in England," by Arnold Toynbee. Rivingtons.

† "The Querist," by George Berkeley, D.D., Bishop of Cloyne. 1837.

aim of every wise State should not be to encourage industry in its members? and whether those who employ neither heads nor hands for the common benefit, deserve not to be expelled like drones out of a well-governed State?"—then outdoor relief must assuredly be wrong in principle.

There are two kinds of poverty; and there are two methods of relieving it. There is first the poverty of the deserving poor—men and women of provident dispositions, who in great numbers are crowded out in the push of competitors for work. This kind of poverty is soothed by outdoor parish relief, but the soothing process is frequently followed by evil effects. I have not known a single case where permanently good effects could be traced to it. It is only a method which aims at temporary relief. It is like allowing a diseased person to prescribe his own remedy and to increase the disease at the cost of temporary mitigation. We must go to the cause of the malady. Now the cause of poverty in all the cases that come into this class, is want of work. A wiser method, therefore, of dealing with the poverty of the virtuous poor, would be to give them work to do, by which they could earn their livelihood; and it is the purpose of this book to show how this can be done.

I said there were two kinds of poverty, and two methods of relief. The second kind of poverty is that which is considered to be the result of waste and improvidence; and I ask the question, What is the

effect of outdoor parish relief here? Surely, it is an unmitigated evil. If a man is inclined to waste the wealth which he earns by the sweat of his brow, how much more will he waste the wealth which is given to him without work?

And so we find that the practice of giving a man food he has not earned tends to destroy the morals of a good man, and to precipitate a bad man on the downward course; and that outdoor relief may justly be condemned as doing more harm than good. The only hope of improving the behaviour of a wasteful man lies in the divine method—of permitting him the choice of working or suffering, with no other alternative; that is to say, we shall give all healthy men an opportunity of earning a livelihood easily by honest work, and that we shall afterwards treat all wilful idleness and consequent neglect of families as a crime, to be punished promptly, either by the lash or by penal servitude.

The outdoor relief of half a crown or three shillings a week to the aged poor may be further censured as a miserable pittance. The relief given is frequently insufficient to maintain life, not only in the case of the aged, but also of the stalwart. If it happens that they obtain temporary employment, in addition to the parish relief, they may obtain the bread they need; but if they cannot obtain work, they must go in search of it hungering. The ordinary cost of an indoor pauper to the guardians is 4s. per week; the

outdoor relief seldom exceeds 3s. 6d. But no man can possibly live upon 4s., if he purchase and cook for himself, as well as the guardians can provide for him. Their advantages in the way of cheap buying and wholesale cooking are very great. And yet 4s. is the general price at which the guardians are able to keep a man in health and strength. In the face of this fact it is a cruelty to the poor to give such amounts as 3s. and 3s. 6d. per week.

If my reader is not careful at this point, he may imagine that I am arguing in favour of larger doles. But nothing could be further from my intention. I want to abolish the necessity for doles, by making work more plentiful. At the same time, I want it to be seen that the system of giving doles has been pitifully inadequate ; and that if we carried out the present system reasonably and mercifully, it would involve the public in far heavier taxation than that which now presses upon us. In support of this view, let me call the attention of the reader to the following passage from Mr. Herbert Spencer :—\*

“ Besides the facts that under the old poor-law the rates had in some parishes risen to half the rental, and that in various places farms were lying idle, there is the fact that in one case the rates had absorbed the whole proceeds of the soil.

At Cholesbury, in Buckinghamshire, in 1832, the poor-rate “ suddenly ceased in consequence of the

\* “ *The Man versus the State*,” p. 37.

impossibility to continue its collection, the landlords having given up their rents, the farmers their tenancies, and the clergyman his glebe and his tithes. The clergyman, Mr. Jeston, states that in October, 1832, the parish officers threw up their books, and the poor assembled in a body before his door while he was in bed, asking for advice and food. Partly from his own small means, partly from the charity of neighbours, and partly by rates in aid, imposed on the neighbouring parishes, they were for some time supported."\* And the Commissioners add that, "The benevolent rector recommends that the whole of the land should be divided among the able-bodied paupers," "hoping that, after help afforded for two years, they might be able to maintain themselves."

Before passing on to the effects of casual relief, let me quote the following from the Rev. Brooke Lambert,† the Vicar of Greenwich:—

"Let me now state this principle. That we must not in relief be more merciful than God. I put the matter strongly, and I expect to have the statement combated. I believe that the existence of distress is an appeal to our charitable feelings. But I believe that our first question should not be, as it generally is, 'How can I put a stop to this suffering?' But, 'Why

\* "Report of Commissioners for Inquiry into the Administration and Practical Operation of the Poor Laws." February 20, 1834.

† "The Principles and Methods of Distributing Relief," by Brooke Lambert. E. Jones, 77, Queen Street, Cheapside.

has God permitted this man to suffer? How can I work with Him to make the trouble produce the effect He designs.' We are approaching the season at which charity makes large claims upon us. I warn you not to think that God permits the suffering which winter entails only that you may go and warm and clothe every sufferer. There is a good deal of philosophy wrapped up in Kingsley's couplet—

“ ‘ ‘Tis the hard grey weather  
Breeds hard Englishmen.’

It is not the nations whom nature, or the God of nature, has most bountifully supplied with the good things of life who have done most in the battle of life. ‘ Necessity is the mother of invention,’ and suffering is the parent of many virtues. If you go among the sufferers, thinking it your bounden duty to undo what God has done, you act in much the same way as the person who sees a child crying, and immediately gives it sweetmeats, or taxes the parent or schoolmaster with cruelty. There must be suffering, and suffering may be a punishment, or it may be a medicine, in either of which cases to interfere and stop the effects is a very cruel kindness. And I constantly find clergymen acting in direct defiance of what they preach, as if the great thing in the world were to produce happiness, and losing sight of the fact that He who is all merciful has revealed that men are permitted ‘ to suffer hunger that they may learn that man doth not live by bread alone.’ ”

The third kind of parish relief is that which is given to casuals. This department is sometimes called the "Tramp Ward." For the most part our poor-law officials are ashamed of it. It is totally different from the other departments in many respects. Although there is here a sort of attempt made to make the recipients work for the relief which is administered, yet it is more inhuman and brutalizing than either indoor relief or outdoor relief. In the other departments of the workhouse a scrupulous cleanliness is observed. The rooms are well ventilated, and every precaution is taken that the sanitary conditions shall be as nearly perfect as possible. But in the casual ward it is not so. "Ah, sir," said a workhouse nurse to me, "I never go into the tramp ward but it makes me sick. Even at four o'clock in the afternoon, when the bedroom has been sweetening for nine hours, the smell is dreadful."

A detailed account, of treatment actually received in a London casual ward, is given in an article published in the *Gentleman's Magazine* in February, 1883, entitled "The Tramp's Haven." It is the work of Mr. Wallace Goodbody. I will give a brief *résumé*. My criticism of this department can best be given as a running commentary upon the story.

At eight o'clock in the evening, we find at the doors of the workhouse a long line of abject human beings—men and women—in fluttering rags, who shrink as closely as possible to the railings waiting

for the gate to be opened. Presently the wicket is unlocked, and they sidle into the interior. A burly porter counts each individual ; and then, a certain number being completed, he peremptorily closes the door in the face of the remainder. I need not pause to point out the unreasonableness or the injustice of this exclusion. If it has been decided that only thirty men are to be admitted into the ward, then, whoever happens to be thirty-first, no matter what his condition, has the door shut in his face ; and he may sleep either in the fields, or upon the lime-kilns, or in damp archways, or he may commit a felony, and thus find shelter in gaol.

Those who have thus secured admission are ushered into a room presenting that appearance of plainness and clean deal boards which is characteristic of work-houses. The women are led away by a matron into a separate part of the building. The tramp-master then takes his seat at the head of a table, opens a huge volume, dips the pen in the inkstand, when the following typical dialogue takes place :—

“ Now, then, number one, come on, if you’re coming.”

The man crouching on the front row of seats nearest the chairman rises and shuffles towards the table.

“ What’s yer name, if you’ve got one ? ”

“ Samuel Smith.”

“ How old are yer ? ”

“Thirty-two.”

“*What* are yer?”—with the most contemptuous emphasis on the word *what*.

“Nothing.”

“Where did you sleep last night?”

“Nowhere.”

The interpretation of “nowhere” is that he did not sleep in any casual ward.

“Where are you going to?”

“Anywhere.”

“Anywhere?” repeats the catechiser. “You must say where you’re going to, if it’s only the nearest pump.”

The wretch murmurs something, unintelligible to us, which is duly inserted in the tramp-master’s book.

“Have you got any money?”

The man is probably in possession of a halfpenny and a farthing; if he had fourpence he would not come to the casual ward, under ordinary circumstances. Sometimes, however, if the tramp be of an avaricious disposition, he eludes the vigilance of the inquisitor by putting his money in his mouth.

“Take everything out of your pockets and pitch them into that basket.”

The private property of the tramp, however, is restored to him when he is leaving the workhouse.

Another question which is generally asked, but which Mr. Goodbody does not include, is to this effect: “What is the object of your wanderings?”

When the tramp-master of the Liverpool parish workhouse showed me his book on a recent occasion I glanced at this column with particular interest, and found that "seeking work" was the object of the wanderings of fully two-thirds of the men who had visited the tramp ward. I asked the tramp-master if he wrote down simply the assertions of the men on this subject, and he answered, "No! I should not make an entry unless it seemed to me to be true."

"Number one" is now succeeded by "number two." And so all the casuals are questioned, and the particulars of each case are duly entered in the ponderous book.

When this is over, the tramp-master approaches the benches where the men sit, bearing a wooden tray, which contains a quantity of pieces of brown bread corresponding to the number of guests assembled. He orders each individual to "Take one;" and each in response to the invitation plunges his hand into the receptacle, and withdraws it, containing a portion of the bread in question. This is the whole ceremony of serving supper in the casual ward.

The men are now thoroughly searched, in order to discover any explosive material they may possibly have concealed about their persons.

After catechism, supper, and searching, the next thing provided as part of the night's entertainment is the bath. This is insisted upon. On the night when Mr. Wallace Goodbody went through this ordeal, there

were thirty casuals admitted. They were ordered into the same bath two at a time. The operation was repeated until the whole thirty had performed their ablutions by absolutely bathing in one another's filth ! “Not once was the water changed ; as soon as two were out, another two were in, and so on to the end of the chapter.” . . . “I marvelled at the time what reasons, sanitary or other, could possibly justify such an act of wholesale bestiality, and what were the mysterious economic precepts that failed to acknowledge the necessity for more than one bath and one supply of tepid water for thirty human beings to be plunged in two at a time, several of whom I noticed were suffering from various descriptions of skin disease. In a similar establishment that I once had occasion to visit in the city, I was informed that there were three baths provided, one of which was particularly reserved for diseases of the skin ; but in this pandemonium no such precaution was considered necessary.”

The ceremonial—for it is nothing more—being concluded, the tramps pass from the bathroom into the dormitory. This place resembles the interior of a barn, along the sides of which are a number of straw mattresses spread upon the ground and separated from one another by a deal board. Upon each of these couches there is what possibly may be called a blanket, but which in reality is a threadbare quilt of the most meagre description, which fails utterly to protect the tramp from the frigidity of the atmosphere.

Over the beds, or “dosses,” as they are called, and extending the whole length of the wall, there is a shelf on which the tramps are ordered to place their ragged clothing, each in a separate bundle. A night-garment, in the shape of a cotton shirt, is lent to them by the guardians. The tramps are not permitted to put their clothes on the bed to further an increase of warmth.

At six o'clock next morning the tramps are aroused. They are ordered to “roll up their mattresses, and put their shirts on the top of them ;” and, after their toilet is completed, they are led out into the chill morning air. Here, under a shed or outhouse, the master sets the men to work oakum-picking ; that is to say, for I must be explicit, he takes a bundle of short pieces of tarred rope, and, after weighing it in scales, he gives each man a quantity, and commands him to unravel the rope, and pick it, by means of his fingers, into a fibre as fine as the production of the silkworm. It is a miserable den, with its blackened walls, its ragged, forlorn company, crouched on rows of benches, engaged in their ignoble employment. I agree with Mr. Goodbody, that we know not what human misery is, until we have seen this. The tramp is expected to complete his task of oakum-picking by eleven o'clock in the morning ; but it is a physical impossibility for the inexperienced to finish the work in the allotted time. Their backs are nearly broken by the crouching, stooping posture, and the skin is

literally worn from the ends of their fingers. Many of them cannot finish the task until five o'clock in the evening.

At eleven o'clock in the morning, the hour of deliverance for those who have completed their task, the tramp-master comes round and serves the breakfast. It consists of an allowance of bread of the same magnitude as that distributed on the preceding evening; and should it be necessary to detain any of the tramps until eight o'clock at night, this piece of bread is all they have to depend upon to support nature. I need not dwell upon the gross inhumanity of this; it is sufficiently apparent. As the men leave the workhouse their property is restored to them which was taken away on the preceding night—property which consists for the most part of knives, combs, old clay pipes, and dilapidated old newspapers.

And now comes the obvious criticism concerning casual relief—that it does not tend to help the poor; on the contrary, its effect upon the unemployed is to keep them out of employment. When a man is down in the world, it keeps him down. Let the reader imagine, if he can, first the difficulty of getting employment under any circumstances, and then the cloud of hopelessness which overhangs the tramp and travels with him, when he cannot begin to look for work until noon. The best chance of obtaining work in every avocation is the chance which morning brings. At noon all the vacancies are filled. Per-

manent situations are taken up at the beginning of the week ; temporary places at the beginning of the day. There is no hope for the tramp, except to walk ten miles to the next workhouse, and repeat his wretched experience. Lately, however, the members of the Local Government Board have themselves been dissatisfied with the relief given in the casual ward. In both the other departments they imagine that some progress has been made. They point with satisfaction to the statistics which prove that the numbers of inmates and of persons in receipt of outdoor relief have been latterly decreasing year by year. I suppose they take some comfort from this ; but it is a mistake to do so. There is more poverty than ever there was ; it is increasing steadily year by year. The explanation of the decrease shown in the poor-law statistics, is the fact that private charity is now doing exactly the same kind of work as the poor-law officials, and on a colossal scale, and the poor prefer to be visited and helped by compassionate Christians than by the relieving officer of the poor-law. Let those who have any doubt upon this point carefully read "The Homes of the London Poor," by Miss Octavia Hill ; or let them consider the following passage taken from her "Report to the Local Government Board, January, 1874," twelve years ago (and charities of this kind have increased since then) : "It will be seen from this outline that in St. Mary's district there are four agencies employed in the

endeavour to administer relief to the necessitous, in the wisest and most really helpful way; the guardians, with their relieving-officer, the Charity Organization Society, the Relief Committee, and the District Visitors. These four agencies are connected and brought into efficient co-operation," etc.\* Or, again, in the second chapter of this book on "The English Workhouse," a detailed account of the decrease in parochial relief for the last four years in Liverpool parish is supplied. Let me ask the reader to put alongside that decrease the following increase in the work of the Liverpool Central Relief Society.

Year.	Total Number of Cases Visited.	Year.	Total Number of Cases Visited.
1882	... 11,017	1884	... 13,576
1883	... 11,549	1885	... 28,126

The Local Government Board, observing the decrease in the number of paupers, and dissatisfied that the number of tramps did not also decrease, have recently issued an order—intended, I suppose, to reduce the number of those who apply at the casual ward—which ordains that the casual in future cannot claim his discharge until the day but one after he comes into the workhouse.

The only effect of this new edict will be that it will place a further obstacle in the way of deliverance. Instead of five afternoons in the week on which the

\* "Co-operation of Volunteers and Poor-law Officials," by Octavia Hill.

tramp could formerly seek employment, he will now have only two afternoons. I know not what effect it will have upon the statistics, but I am sure it will have a bad effect upon the tramps ; and the members of our Local Government Board are not called to their office to look after statistics, but tramps. The new edict will operate as follows :—

If the tramp comes into the workhouse on Monday night, he is liberated on Wednesday morning—*1st afternoon.*

He comes back on Wednesday night, and is not liberated until Friday morning—*2nd afternoon.*

He comes back on Friday night, and is not liberated until Sunday.

And all this merely because he is poor. Our criminals are better treated. And if it were not for the divine withholding, we should count all our tramps amongst the criminals—a special class, fostered and encouraged by the blind policy of our poor-law.

“Dollars and dimes, dollars and dimes,  
An empty pocket’s the worst of crimes.”

In the Liverpool parish workhouse in the casual ward they pick oakum and grind Indian corn in hand-mills. It almost seems as if, wanting them to earn their own livelihood, we gave them food and shelter of the most wretched description ; and then gave them work of the most useless kind that we could possibly have found—work not worth doing ; work by means of which the most industrious man,

whether a tramp or not, cannot earn more than a bare subsistence. The wiser policy, if we wanted to make the tramp love work, would surely have been to have apportioned some less hateful task ; to have given some useful work—pleasant, if possible, in the performance—which would have awakened in his heart a sense of his capabilities, and made him feel that independence at least were possible. “Some men,” says Mr. R. W. Emerson, “do not believe in a power of education ; they do not think we can speak to divine sentiments in man, and do not try. All high aims are renounced. We believe that the defects of so many perverse and so many frivolous people who make up society are organic, and society is a hospital for incurables.”

A further criticism of our poor-law relief is that it was designed to put an end to starvation. It has failed to do so. Again and again in our newspapers we read of cases which tell of destitute persons found dead, of a *post-mortem* examination, of a coroner’s inquest, and some euphonious rendering of the verdict —“death from starvation.” The special commissioner of the *Liverpool Daily Post* says, “I was the other day in company with a brave and brilliant young dispensary doctor at the house of a woman who had five children. One of them died a few weeks ago, and the cause of death was pure starvation. My medical friend told me that the child had not one scrap of fat on his body. He was nothing but bone

and fibre, and had died from malnutrition, or rather, absence of nutrition. The child's brother was there, an anæmic little creature, travelling down the road to starvation. . . . Hundreds of men, perhaps thousands, contrive to get work for one day or two days in the week, which suffices to obtain for them food and liquor, and their children are left to shift the best way they can. Women come next. They sometimes die of starvation, but less often than children, for, as a rule, they can find something to eat. Men very rarely die for simple want of food, although very many are undoubtedly killed in the long-run by the scantiness of their food, and by the heart-breaking efforts which they make to obtain it.”\*

The last criticism of our poor-law relief which I intend to insert, is one of the wastefulness of the system. I allude now to the waste of money. It would seem that, in spite of all our watchfulness and all our economy, the relief of the poor costs more and more every year. If we secure a shrewd workhouse master, who can manage to keep our indoor paupers on a smaller sum than four shillings per week, we must pay him a higher salary for his extra skill. What we gain in one department we lose in another; and when the gains and losses are compared at the year's end, we find that the amount collected by the poor rate is larger every year. Let the reader observe

\* “Toiling Liverpool.” *Daily Post Offices*, Victoria Street, Liverpool.

here, that I say *the amount collected* is larger. It is quite possible that the poor rate is 1s. 4d. in the pound where once it was 2s.; and at a superficial glance it may be concluded that our burden is lighter than it used to be; but it is not so, for "the rateable value of property assessed" has been steadily increasing. A citizen may be assessed at 2s. in the pound whilst his rateable value is only £20, and he will thus have to pay 40s. per annum. But if he be assessed at 1s. 4d. in the pound while his rateable value has increased to £40, he will have to pay 53s. 4d. per annum. In the year 1857 the rateable value of the parish of Liverpool was £1,117,326; in the year 1867 it was £1,499,911; in the year 1877 it was £2,047,018.

But the wastefulness of the system is, perhaps, most apparent from another point of view. Every pound we distribute through our poor-law officials, costs another pound for its collection and distribution. There are no exceptions to this rule, so far as I know. Take the parish of Liverpool as an example, where the management is above the average, where adult paupers are kept at 3s. 1d. a week, and children under sixteen, at 2s. 6 $\frac{3}{4}$ d.

For the year ending Lady-day, 1885, the poor rate expenditure amounted to £137,762. If we deduct from this the watch rate, £8,528, and the education rate, £26,172, which it includes, we have a sum left of £103,062. Now, the sum actually spent in feeding

and clothing the poor was only £43,757. The items printed in their balance sheet are as follows:—

In-maintenance, viz. Provisions, Neces-	£
saries, and Clothing	...     ...
Out-relief	...     ...
	£43,737

I therefore contend that we may include in our indictment of the English poor-law a charge of wastefulness—not wastefulness on the part of the officials, be it repeated; they have been most economical; but a charge of wastefulness against the system by which relief is administered. Poor-law officials are not the poor-law system.

If the reader has glanced with me, thus far, at the methods of the administration of our poor-law; if he has considered its manifold opportunities of doing harm, both to the pauper and the taxpayer, he will not be surprised at the mournful confession contained in the report of the Poor Law Commissioners, who said that, "We find, on the one hand, that there is scarcely one statute connected with the administration of public relief which has produced the effect designed by the legislature, and that the majority of them have created new evils, and aggravated those which they were intended to prevent." \*

Nor will the reader be surprised to find Mr. J. E. Thorold Rogers, in a criticism of John Stuart

\* Nicholl's "History of English Poor Law," vol. ii. p. 252.

Mill, adverting as follows to our poor-law: "Mr. Mill is an ardent advocate of human liberty, and deserves all honour for his labours on behalf of it; but I do not remember that throughout his work on 'Political Economy' he has been at the pains to point out how powerful a factor the law of parochial settlement has been in bringing about the unthrift, and recklessness of the working classes, or how it has stereotyped improvidence and justified incontinence." \*

"What good  
Can come of this?"

says Naphtali in Charles Wells's masterly play.† And Reuben is made to answer—

"No good can ever come  
Within the limits of thy crimson sphere.  
Thou'st sorely wounded good, and therefore good  
Will tremble in thy presence like a flower  
That's ruffian'd by the blast. Thou'rt shunableness:  
And good will rather perish from the earth  
Than lay its perfect and congenial hand  
Upon thy unblest head."

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\* "Six Centuries of Work and Wages," by J. S. Thorold Rogers.

† "Joseph and his Brethren," a dramatic poem by Charles Wells, with an introduction by Charles Algernon Swinburne. Chatto & Windus.

## CHAPTER IV.

## HISTORY OF THE POOR-LAW.

“*Empedocles*. What special wrong now stirs your discontent ?  
We bear no evil now but what we bore  
These twenty summers. The snail is used to bear  
His house ; so men their burdens.

“*Embadius*. That is precisely the text of our complaint, that we are not snails. The burden which is laid on my back, if Fate had made me a snail, that I would bear, but being a man I bear only such burdens as to man’s nature appertain ; and being a man born, and a free Greek to boot, I will not bear the yoke of vassalage.”—JOHN STUART BLACKIE, *Empedocles*.

“ To make benevolence scientific is the great problem of the present age. Men formerly thought that the simple direct action of the benevolent instincts, by means of self-denying gifts, was enough to remedy the misery they deplored : now they see that not only thought, but historical study is also necessary.”—ARNOLD TOYNBEE.

THERE are in England and Wales 649 poor-law unions, which cover the whole area. For the most part they are grouped around market towns, and consist on an average of twenty-three civil parishes or townships. These aggregations of parishes, linked together by their central workhouses, have come to

be treated in a large measure as the areas of local government.

The system sprang into existence as follows. After the suppression of the monasteries, the legislators of England began to realize the truth that the relief of destitution had been their fundamental religious duty. If my reader should happen to be travelling in the neighbourhood of Winchester, he may there see for himself what was a Roman Catholic establishment which is still doing the work formerly done by the monasteries in England. About a mile out of Winchester he will find the Hospice of St. Cross, and on ringing a bell and saying to the man who answers it, "I want a dole," he will be asked no question as to his destitution, but a horn of beer and some dry bread will be given to him for his refreshment. A similar charity exists to this day, dating only from the seventeenth century, at Guildford, founded by George Abbot; and another at Coventry of older date. At Rochester, Watt's Charity provides lodgings, supper, and breakfast for seven wayfarers daily, and gives fourpence to them on the morrow when they start upon their journey. It is difficult now to ascertain how much relief was collected and given by the religious fraternities of Mediæval times. "The Supplication of Beggars" estimates the amount collected by the begging friars alone as £45,333 6s. 8d. per annum, and it should be remembered that the population of England and Wales in the fourteenth

century was about 2,360,000, whilst in the year 1881 it was 25,968,286.

It is more than probable, therefore, that the destitution of those days was fairly well relieved. There can be no doubt that along with their liberality and compassion the monasteries were open to the attacks made upon them by Erasmus, Hutten, Thomas Cromwell, Colet, and More. During the reign of Henry VIII., two royal commissioners named Legh and Leyton, were despatched on a general visitation of the religious houses, and their reports formed a "Black Book," which was laid before Parliament on their return. This "Black Book" stated that about a third of the religious houses, including the bulk of the larger abbeys, were fairly and decently conducted. The rest were charged with maladministration of their funds, and revolting crimes. "But," says Mr. Green, "in spite of the cry of 'Down with them' which broke from the Commons as the report was read, the country was still far from desiring the utter downfall of the monastic system." There seemed to be no way open but that of abolishing both the virtues and the vices of the monasteries; and gradually this end was accomplished, and the destitute poor for a season were very much neglected. In 1536, the lesser monasteries were confiscated; in 1539, the greater abbeys were suppressed. Parliament, however, was not satisfied to leave matters thus. No legal provision had ever been made to relieve destitution, and it was only

gradually that the Government realized the necessity of it and accepted the responsibility for it. The first step towards the relief of the poor by Government, is no doubt the Act of 1536, which was passed even before the dissolution of the monasteries. This Act was intended to put an end to the giving of doles by private individuals ; it imposed a penalty upon all persons who did so ; it enacted that a common fund should be raised by means of collections on Sundays and on holy days, and that the churchwardens should distribute these alms to the poor. This, however, did not cure the poverty of the country ; and another attempt to deal with it was made in the first year of the reign of King Edward VI. This time a stringent and even barbarous remedy was attempted, the authors of which apparently regarded poverty as a crime—a thing to be “put down.” This Act condemned the destitute poor to slavery ; it even ordained that they should be branded, wherever they were found, and made to work in chains. Two years afterwards the Act was repealed ; and in 1552 another plan was tried. The work was now taken still more out of the hands of the Church. Two collectors were appointed by Parliament in every parish, whose duty it was to wait upon the rich, and upon the middle-class, and to inquire what sums of money they would contribute weekly for the relief of the poor. The collectors were authorized to distribute the fund. If any who were able refused to give, the collectors were ordered to

make a complaint against such to the ministers and churchwardens. If this measure failed, the collector was ordered to make a complaint to the bishop, whose business it was to remonstrate with them and persuade them, if possible, to contribute to the poor's fund. In Queen Mary's reign the Act appears to be in full operation, but it is not working satisfactorily. The office of collector appears to be a very unpopular one; so much so, that the Act is amended, and now fixes a penalty which is to be enforced on all who refuse the office. There are, moreover, a good many rich men who do not regard the exhortations of the bishops. It is now enacted that their disobedience may be treated as a kind of heresy. Another change sanctioned by this Act, is that the canvassing for subscriptions for the poor's fund must take place at Christmas instead of at Whitsuntide as beforetime.

The difficulty of getting voluntary subscriptions out of selfish people was so great that at last the idea of the voluntary gift was reluctantly abandoned. And in the beginning of Elizabeth's reign another Act was passed by which the collector might drag an unwilling giver before the justices assembled in quarter sessions, and there tax him in a weekly sum, and commit him to prison until he had paid it.

And so our present poor-law system was brought by gradual stages into existence.

Matters could not long remain as they existed at the beginning of Elizabeth's reign. In a few years

the whole question was re-opened and placed upon a new basis. The gifts to the poor's fund must now be compulsory and not voluntary. It was determined to assess all property under the celebrated Act of 43 Elizabeth, cap. 3, and every parish was charged with the responsibility of supporting its own poor. The distribution of relief was at first entrusted to parish overseers, who were under the superintendence of the justices of the peace. In the year 1782, an Act was passed by which ratepayers were permitted to appoint a guardian of the poor; for the rates now began rapidly to increase as the following table will show:—

Year.	Population.	Poor Rate.	Per head of Population.
1760	7,000,000	£1,250,000	3s. 7d.
1784	8,000,000	£2,000,000	5s. od.
1803	9,216,000	£4,077,000	8s. 11d.
1818	11,876,000	£7,870,000	13s. 3d.

The duties of the guardians were the same as those of the overseers, except that they were not permitted to levy or to collect rates. This is known as the Gilbert Act. It also made facilities for the unions of parishes, for it had been found already, that the resources of some of the poorer parishes were not adequate to the task of maintaining the local poor. A very striking example\* occurred a few years after

\* For particulars of this dilemma, see p. 46.

at Cholesbury in Buckinghamshire. Unions therefore were found to be a great convenience ; and aggregations of parishes soon began to take place throughout the country. From the date of this Act of Parliament we begin to have poor-law guardians as well as overseers of the poor ; the former undertaking the details of management within the workhouse, and sending up an annual account of their expenses to the overseers, whose duty it is to assess the taxpayers and collect the rates.

The Poor Law Amendment Act of 1834 reaffirmed the principles of the Gilbert Act, and the aggregation of parishes proceeded rapidly, until to-day the whole area of England and Wales has been overspread by a network of 649 unions.

This is a brief outline of our poor-law parliamentary legislation up to the present time. The Local Government Board now takes up questions of workhouse regulation, and its decisions have the force of Acts of Parliament.

But if we glance more particularly at this period, in the reign of William IV., when the Poor Law Amendment Act became imperative, we find that there had been a gross abuse of outdoor relief in aid of wages, that there had been a notorious prevalence of jobbery in the management of workhouses, and that the poor rates collected from the industrious at that time amounted to "between £8,000,000 and £9,000,000" in one year. An interesting reminiscence

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of this period is furnished by Mr. Herbert Spencer, who writes as follows :—

“A late uncle of mine, the Rev. Thomas Spencer, for some twenty years incumbent of Hinton Charterhouse, near Bath, no sooner entered on his parish duties than he proved himself anxious for the welfare of the poor, by establishing a school, a library, a clothing-club, and land allotments, besides building some model cottages. Moreover, up to 1833, he was a pauper’s friend—always for the pauper against the overseer. There presently came, however, the debates on the poor-law, which impressed him with the evils of the system then in force. Though an ardent philanthropist, he was not a timid sentimentalist. The result was that immediately the new poor-law was passed, he proceeded to carry out its provisions in his parish. Almost universal opposition was encountered by him; not the poor only being his opponents, but even the farmers, on whom came the burden of heavy poor rates. For, strange to say, their interests had become apparently identified with the maintenance of this system which had taxed them so largely. The explanation is that there had grown up the practice of paying out of the rates a part of the wages of each farm servant—‘make-wages,’ as the sum was called. And though the farmers contributed most of the fund from which ‘make-wages’ were paid, yet, since all other ratepayers contributed, the farmers seemed to gain by the arrangement. My uncle, how-

ever, not easily deterred, faced all this opposition and enforced the law. The result was that in two years the rates were reduced from £700 a year to £200 a year, while the condition of the parish was greatly improved.” \*

It was in consequence of this and similar mischief that the Local Government Board was appointed ; for each case of maladministration of the poor-law could not be submitted to Parliament. The business of the Local Government Board is to dissolve unions of parishes wherever it is expedient, or to add to unions, or to reduce the size of unions—all which can be done with a mere departmental order. It may also remove any paid officers at pleasure, and it may appoint officers, if the guardians fail to do so. It lays down definite rules for outdoor and indoor relief and the education of pauper children.

Subject to this control, the board of guardians is now the only administrative authority within its own union ; the overseers do not interfere in the least degree. Let us examine this body.

The board of guardians is made up of ex-officio and elected members. The ex-officio members are the county magistrates residing within the union ; but these may not exceed in number one-third of the whole board. The remainder are chosen annually by the ratepayers and the owners of property within the union. The election must take place on the 7th or

\* “The Coming Slavery,” by Herbert Spencer.

the 8th of April. The voting paper must be left at the house of the voter, and must be collected on the following day. The system of voting is that known as plural-voting. The qualification of persons eligible as guardians of the poor varies in different unions from a £15 rating to a £40 rating.

As I have been anxious to make this chapter as short and interesting as possible, I will bring it to a close by quoting the following descriptive passage from the Hon. George C. Brodrick, Warden of Merton College, Oxford.\*

“ In most unions the board of guardians meet fortnightly or weekly, under the presidency of a chairman, who is often a county magistrate, deriving additional weight from territorial influence ; sometimes a clergyman, elected by his parishioners, and sometimes a farmer or tradesman. Its business consists mainly in the general supervision of the workhouse, and in the regulation of outdoor relief, which is given directly through its relieving officers. It is in respect of this last function that not only the practice but the policy of various boards of guardians differs most widely. In some the percentage of able-bodied paupers is infinitesimal, owing to a judicious discrimination of cases ; in others, perhaps adjoining the former, or where the local circumstances are precisely similar, a direct premium is set upon im-

\* “ *Local Government and Taxation in the United Kingdom*,” published by the Cobden Club.

providence, and a heavy discount upon thrift, among agricultural labourers, by a reckless distribution of outdoor relief. Nor is this mischievous expenditure always disinterested; for it may happen that a guardian of the shopkeeping class is himself a creditor of the applicant for outdoor relief, and prefers keeping even a struggling family on his books, to losing all its custom by consigning it to a workhouse. . . . It is enough to point out that, considering the number of persons affected by the system, and the depth to which its influence has struck downwards into the social life of the English peasantry, the board of guardians, as dispensers of public charity, practically wield a larger power over the character and condition of the people than belongs to any other public body."

One lamentable feature, brought plainly before our notice by the history of our poor-law, is the fact that the great law of the forty-third year of Elizabeth was the completion of a system for levying the supplies of pauperism, which was wrong in principle, inasmuch as it alleged the "right" of able-bodied idlers to be kept by the State, and it robbed the whole sum which was given of the expression it once had, of being a free-will offering. This latter change may have been expedient as a temporary step; but the fact that it seemed necessary to continue thus, was indicative of the eternal truth that the poor were being relieved upon a principle at variance with the higher interests

of humanity. It steadily increased the poverty it was designed to alleviate, and it injured the donors ; but it also expressed an idea which had a degrading influence upon the recipients. A man often feels ashamed to accept as a favour that which he is eager to receive as his due. We find that England has always cared for her poor ; and that the history of our poor-law is only the history of the steps by which we have passed from a humanizing to a brutalizing method of dolegiving—a method by which money given to the poor has lost its original character of being a free-will offering, and is now given and received in the shape of an extorted right from the wealthier to the humbler classes of the community.

## CHAPTER V.

OTHER HELPS AND CHARITIES FOR THE  
UNEMPLOYED.

“What is human life, in the great majority of instances, but a mere struggle for existence?”—MR. GLADSTONE, in his Budget speech of 1864.

“*Empedocles.*                           I am not used  
  To meddle with affairs of state ; you know  
  Where the shoe pinches.

“*Embadius.* In truth, sir, we do know ; for it fits so closely, and is screwed down so tight that we lack strength to draw it off. Thereto require we a strong arm.”—JOHN STUART BLACKIE, *Empedocles*.

“O Christ, Thou bright and Morning Star,  
    Now shed Thy light abroad ;  
Shine on us from Thy throne afar  
    In this dark place, dear Lord,  
    With Thy pure glorious word.

“O Jesus, comfort of the poor,  
    I lift my heart to Thee,  
I know Thy mercies still endure,  
    And Thou wilt pity me ;  
    I trust alone to Thee.”

*Lyra Germanica.*

IT would be wrong to conclude that we had seen the full extent of English poverty, when we had but glanced at the pauper classes. Go to any city missionary, or to an active country clergyman, or to an

insurance collector, or to any one who has an acquaintance with the industrial poor in either town or country, and he will tell you that amongst those who are ill-fed and ill-clad there is only a small proportion who will accept parish relief. There is an indomitable hatred of parish relief amongst the poor in every part of England. There are thousands who would rather suffer untold privations, who would rather beg, or steal, or die, than accept it. This feeling is not at all exaggerated in Charles Dickens's story, "Our Mutual Friend," where he describes Betty Higden's lifelong fear of the parish authorities.

"Old Betty Higden fared upon her pilgrimage as many ruggedly honest creatures, women and men, fare on their toiling way along the roads of life. Patiently to earn a spare bare living, and quietly to die, untouched by workhouse hands—this was her highest sublunary hope. . . . Sewn in the breast of her gown, the money to pay for her burial was still intact. If she could wear through the day, and then lie down to die under cover of the darkness, she would die independent. If she were captured previously, the money would be taken from her as a pauper who had no right to it, and she would be carried to the accursed workhouse." \*

But we need not rely altogether on the words of this great novelist. The following is an actual case

\* See the tragical chapter entitled, "The End of a Long Journey," in "Our Mutual Friend."

described in the *Liverpool Daily Post* of last winter by Mr. Hugh C. Farrie :—

“If any one wishes to convince himself that men can live where brutes would die, let him go to number 3 ‘house,’ 2 court, Scotland Road. It is called a house. It consists of one room about eight feet square, and a loft, which is sub-let. I think, but am not quite sure, that there is no window in the place, and the floor looked to me to be earthen. There is a fireplace in it, and last week the house was occupied by a man and his wife and several children. The man, a stoker, was out looking for work. The family were cowering round the fire. There was absolutely nothing in the room but a box or two and a heap of straw under the ladder of the loft. The people slept on the straw. They had been in the workhouse the previous week, but insisted on coming out, and this was what they had come to. Truly there is great danger of pauperizing the poor, when the poor prefer to leave the comparatively palatial comforts of the workhouse for number 3 house, 2 court, Scotland Road.”

If we would realize the extent of the poverty which exists in England to-day, we must look beyond the statistics of our workhouses. There is in Liverpool a society called the Central Relief and Charity Organization Society, which is relieving destitution on very similar lines to those adopted in the outdoor relief department of the parish workhouse. I am myself a member of the Everton sub-committee of this society.

Although we administer help in the manner adopted by the poor-law guardians, we endeavour, as far as possible, to avoid cases of *hopeless* poverty. These we urge to go at once to the parish workhouse. The cases we help are, for the most part, cases of industrious unfortunate sufferers who are struggling every day to obtain work without success, or with only partial success; but in every instance they are destitute cases. Our rule runs as follows: "That this Society shall not grant relief to persons receiving parochial aid, or whose distress is of a permanent character, except in extreme exceptional cases." The money spent by this society last year (ending October 31, 1885) amounted to £5027 4s.

The last annual report begins as follows: "The Committee regret to state that the Society's records for the year 1884-85 show a greater amount of distress than for many years past, the applications for relief having been more numerous than in any year since 1878-79. It is a significant fact that while usually the distress arises chiefly in the winter months, it has on this occasion maintained a high rate all the year through," etc.

The following is a statement of the number of applications, and how they were dealt with:—

*Relieved*

With relief in kind, <i>i.e.</i> bread,				
groceries, coals	...	...	17,423	
Otherwise relieved	...	...	2,049	
			—	19,472

<i>Work orders granted to men out of employment</i>	...	...	3,050
<i>Reported to</i>			
Ladies Charity and Lying-in Hospitals	...	...	2,916
Relieving officers and other in- stitutions	...	...	309
Private persons	...	...	349
			3,574
<i>Dismissed as</i>			
Not requiring relief	...	...	667
Undeserving	...	...	250
Cases for parish, or otherwise in- eligible	...	...	3,154
			4,071
			30,167
<i>Deduct cases repeated under more than one class</i>	...	...	2,009
<i>Total number of cases visited</i>	...		28,158

It may interest the reader to know something of the "work orders granted to men out of employment" referred to in this statement. The Relief Society's workshop is situated in Park Lane, Liverpool, and is an establishment where fire-lighters are made, which are sold at 2s. 6d. a hundred, and where bundles of chips are made and dipped in resin, and sold at 4s. 6d. a hundred. The wages paid are 1s. 5d. a day. But, says the annual report for last year, "unfortunately, owing to the depression in business and the competition in the firewood trade, there has been but a slight increase in the sales, and this at a reduced price, so that there has been a loss on the working of £369,

which, however, is more than counterbalanced by the advantage such a test affords of the worthiness of applicants."

I will describe five cases which have recently been sent to our sub-committee for relief, that the reader may know the class of persons who need this kind of help.

The first case was that of a butcher whom we found living in a low neighbourhood. He had a family of young children. The mother was exceedingly clean in her habits, and did not permit the children to play in the streets. They had seen better days, and the children were nice-mannered. The house was almost stripped of its furniture, which had been sold or pawned. The husband was a gentle-natured man, who had begun life with a little capital. He had purchased the goodwill of a butcher's shop in one of the suburbs, and had been outwitted ; for the former owner of the business recommenced in the same street, and, by dint of freely advertising, took back a large part of the younger man's custom. Gradually he lost all he had ; and, because he could do no better, he gave up the shop and went across to his enemy, and served behind the counter as an assistant. This went on for a few months, when he also became bankrupt, and the young butcher was completely without income. He sought work every day, tramped round and round the city, but could get none, except occasional work on Saturdays at a shop in Scotland Road. For this

he was paid between five and six shillings ; and this was all he could get for his wife and little ones. He had no personal friends in Liverpool.

The second case was that of a corn porter, an elderly man about fifty-eight years of age. He went down to the docks twice every day to obtain work, but had been fifteen weeks without getting work of any kind. He was too old to compete with the younger stalwart fellows who were also out of work. The general feeling of our committee was that this was a case for the parish relieving officer, as it could not be regarded as a case of merely temporary distress.

The third case was that of a strong man who had been a blacksmith's striker, but trade had fallen off, and he was discharged amongst a number of others. He also had a family dependent upon him. He had been twenty weeks in search of employment. At last he obtained work as a coal-sifter on board a steamer, and we gave relief to his wife to help her until he should return from his first voyage.

The fourth case was that of a steward who had been employed on one of the steamers sailing between Liverpool and the United States. Several of these vessels do not run in winter, and this man was discharged last August (with an excellent character from his employer) on this account. He sought work all winter—work of any kind—and could obtain nothing except a little whitewashing at rare intervals. His

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vessel sailed again in the month of April, and, as he was still out of employment, his old employers took him back again.

The fifth case was that of a watch-case maker who had worked in the same shop for fourteen years. The trade is very much depressed, and many workshops are closed. This man, although he sought assiduously, was unable to obtain any work of any kind for fifteen weeks. He then obtained temporary work as a cleaner of lamps ; and when his wife crossed the street to tell me of his good fortune, she could not contain herself, and actually shed tears of joy. And it was only temporary work, after all !

There are in Liverpool two other societies doing similar work to ours: the Dock Labourers' Relief Committee and the Toxteth Aid Society. The former assists about two hundred cases a week in winter, but not so many in summer. It was visited by Mr. Farrie last winter, and towards the end of this chapter I will give passages from his graphic report of the work that is being done there. The latter society is working over a smaller area and with still less means.

But even now we have not sounded to the depths of our poverty. Last year in Liverpool there was a sum of £9216 15s. 3d. collected for the hospitals. The necessity of these hospitals (at any rate, this collection on their account) is a token of the widespread destitution which prevails in our city. These

collections constitute about one-tenth of the total sum collected for the Liverpool hospitals.\*

Moreover, it should be remembered that we have no less than 307 churches and chapels which contributed towards the above-named object. Now, every one of these churches contains at least two or three compassionate Christians who go about relieving the cases of distress which come under their notice ; and many of them have also a "congregational poor's purse," out of which the minister is able to give relief to destitute and deserving cases.

When I thus consider the vast numbers of persons in Liverpool who are in receipt of relief, although from the nature of the case I cannot furnish or obtain complete statistics, I am driven to accept the general conclusion of Mr. John Rae when he says, "No thoughtful person of any class can be contented or can avoid grave misgivings and apprehensions when he reflects that in the wealthiest nation in the world every twentieth inhabitant is a pauper ; that, according to poor-law reports, one-fifth of the community is insufficiently clad ; that, according to medical reports to the Privy Council, the agricultural labourers and large classes of working people in towns are too poorly fed to save them from what are known as starvation diseases ; that the great proportion of our population lead a life of monotonous and incessant

\* I am informed, on inquiry, that the annual expenditure in the London hospitals is three-quarters of a million.

toil with no prospect in old age but penury and parochial support, and that one-third, if not indeed one-half, of the families of the country are huddled six in a room, in a way quite incompatible with the elementary claims of decency, health, or morality.\*

And now let us glance at the work of the Dock Labourers' Relief Fund.

"On Saturday nights,† in a little house in Great Howard Street, there is to be seen a spectacle worth witnessing. It is the place where the Dock Labourers' Relief Fund, under the supervision of Mr. R. C. Scott and a committee of labourers themselves, is administered. This most excellent institution was begun about a year ago with a capital of five pounds. It owes its existence and prosperity chiefly to the wonderful energy and courage of Mr. Scott, who is an enthusiast in philanthropy, and who has inspired his committee and many generous donors with a spark of his own eagerness. On Saturday nights two rooms on the ground floor of the little house referred to are filled with givers and recipients. The front parlour is crammed with men and women waiting for assistance. Into the back room they are drafted one by one, to go before the committee. The room is a small one, and along the opposite walls run two plain deal desks with forms at the back of them. The room is occupied

\* "Contemporary Socialism," by Mr. John Rae, M.A., p. 61  
Isbister.

† "Toiling Liverpool," by Mr. Hugh C. Farrie.

by Mr. Scott, the honorary secretary, Mr. Grimes, the visitor, and five or six members of the committee. One records in a book the orders made. Another, a splendid, bright-faced young fellow, deals out the clothes which are given to ill-clad persons. It is touching to see this brawny fellow wrapping warm garments round the poor shivering little children who, with their parents, come in to beg for bread, and cheering the heart of many a brave man who has trudged almost barefoot through the snow in the search for work, by the present of a pair of boots. On a little low form sit two elderly members of the committee—grey, silent, heavy-looking men, who have the curious appearance of inward communion, which the intelligent elderly labourer so often acquires. The labourer cannot talk much, and has little, if any, opportunity of reading. When he is really a man of ability, his circumstances seem to turn his mental vision inwards, and it is surprising to find how much and keenly many of these men have thought. These two committee men sit during the whole evening, never exchanging a word, keenly scrutinizing each applicant who comes in, and the impostor would indeed be clever who could deceive their long experience and intimate knowledge of their labouring brethren.

“On one desk lies a great string of tallies, each of which represents two shillings in food, payable by a neighbouring provision dealer. A big committee-man

stands at the door, admits the applicants, and demands their names. Another burly fellow, wearing the silver cross of the Temperance League of the Holy Cross, a beaming, bustling, genial man, stands in the middle of the room with the tallies, conducting an acute cross-examination of the applicants. If he does not know his man, he probes and tests him with an ingenuity worthy of an Old Bailey lawyer. These men, who work the charity themselves, for their fellows, we may even say for their fellow-sufferers, for they are poor enough themselves, have no intention of being imposed upon, and their work is done with a business-like order and unfailing intelligence which many a more ambitious charity might with advantage imitate. The big man with the silver cross is familiarly addressed by Mr. Scott as 'Barney.' Barney pegs away with his cross-examination until Mr. Scott, whose compassion is easily touched, interrupts with, 'Oh, give him an order, Barney!' and Barney, nothing loth, hands the coveted talisman to the shivering fellow, singing out at the same time to the silent record-keeper in the corner, 'An order, Mr. Murphy.' And this goes on for hours upon hours until frequently midnight is reached. 'An order, Mr. Murphy!' sings Barney again and again, each time giving one gleam of hope and comfort to the wretched victims of poverty and sorrow.

"During the evening all sorts of cases crop up, some dubious, some evidently very deserving, some

positively heartrending. One unfortunate fellow crawls in who says that for three days he has tasted no food except one crust of bread ; and Barney and his watchful committee-men, with all their experience of starvation, unhesitatingly believe him. The man is a great muscular fellow, reduced to such a pitch of weakness that he can with difficulty stand, and his voice comes weak and quavering, like a child's, from away down his sunken chest. He is evidently just at the last stage of endurance, and but for assistance must really die of hunger. This is the only case which I have seen of a man reduced to the very verge of death by starvation. I have seen hundreds of them slowly starving, and very, very many who have had no food to speak of perhaps for days past ; but there has been a suggestion of endurance about all of them which effectually banished the idea of immediate starvation. If this poor creature had not come to the relief committee, I have no doubt that he would have been dead within twenty-four hours. There is much of a sameness about destitution, and the procession of wretched applicants becomes wearisome. The cases are all the same—half a day's work in six weeks ; bronchitis brought on by the snow ; a little struggle against pride and independence, then an application to the relief committee in preference to the parish. A few present unusual points of interest, as, for instance, that of the man Patrick M'Naman, whose wife is dead and has left him a number of young

children. Patrick can get no work to do, but on that account is not excused from paying his children's school money. On the 6th of February he was released from gaol, where he had been committed for non-payment. Now he has another demand for £3. You might as well ask Pat to pay off the National Debt as to find these £3. Consequently he expects each day to be sent to prison again. . . .

"One night, by the kindness of Mr. Scott, who accompanied me, I was enabled to pay a visit, with several members of the committee, to the homes of a number of persons receiving relief from the fund. The remainder of this chapter will be devoted to a description of some places and people I saw that night. The first house we entered was 10 house, 2 Court, Fontenoy Street. The house consists of two rooms, a front one and a back one. It is occupied by a man and his four children. They have absolutely nothing, no light of any sort, and no food. A stranger during the day had given fourpence to one of the children, and the man had provided the luxury on this bitter freezing evening of a little fire. Our 'bodyguard,' Barney, as Mr. Scott calls him, strikes a wax match, and by its flickering light we see the 'home' of this wretched family. They are going to 'bed.' Two of the children, in shirts of sacking, crouch over the fire. The back cellar is entirely empty. Its door has been lifted from its hinges and laid down on the floor of the room. The man's coat

rolled up makes a pillow, and the children are preparing to lie down on their plank bed. The man, a strong and willing workman, is taking off his clothes to lay upon his little ones. Where is he to go to bed himself? There is nothing but the stone floor to lie down on, and the room is absolutely bare of everything except a small box. This father of four children, having covered his offspring with his outer clothes, sits night after night on this box, and gets what sleep he can. Think of this, good people, when you are in your warm beds. Think of the man in 10 house, 2 Court, Fontenoy Street, sitting on his box watching his children sleeping. The night wears on. The little fire burns lower and lower, and then goes out. All is dark. The silence is only broken by the breathing of the children. The man leans his wearied head against the wall. Then dozes. The warmth of the room diminishes. The biting east wind blows down the low chimney. The frost of a bitter March morning creeps in through the crevices of the door and window. Still the man sits there on his box sleeping, a short and broken sleep, numbed with the cold, stiffened and aching. Then at last the first cold grey rays of day peep in through the grimy window panes. Through the dim light the forms of the sleeping children are seen nestling for warmth close together. Perhaps a ray of morning sunlight steals into the room and touches the face of the father, still weariedly leaning against the wall, and rouses him

from his restless slumber. He awakens the children, for it is time to go to work. He dons his clothes, the cellar door is hung up on its hinges, the children crouch round the dead fire, and wonder what it is like always to have breakfast when one gets up. The man goes out upon his fruitless search for employment, hours are spent in trudging from dock to dock, and disappointment after disappointment overwhelms him. The evening comes again, and he goes home, the door is taken from its hinges, the wooden box is drawn to the fireside, and the family again go to bed.

"Let us go on to 3 house, 9 Court, Ford Street. It is occupied by an elderly labourer, who has had little or no work for many weeks," etc.

We have yet to estimate another class of the unemployed; this time the noblest of the industrial class who are foredoomed to an unwilling idleness—the class of those who do not subsist either upon parish relief or charity; but are enabled to live when out of work by means of friendly societies and trades unions. And again, if my reader should happen to be one of those who believed that poverty was decreasing because poor-law statistics seemed to favour that opinion, I ask him to observe that this form of self-help amongst the industrial classes has sprung into existence almost entirely during the present century (the first Friendly Societies Act was passed in the year 1793); that thousands of the unemployed have simply been *transferred* from parish

relief to the "benefits" of friendly societies and trades unions. It is a nobler method of mitigating the evils under which society suffers ; it does infinite credit to the workmen who thus lay up a store for the dark days which are almost inevitable. At the same time, noble as it is, it is only a mitigation of the evil, and not a remedy. The chief marks of distinction between the friendly societies and the trades unions are that whilst the former—such as the "Oddfellows," the "Foresters," the "Druids"—are open to all classes of the community ; the latter have their memberships restricted to those who follow certain specified trades ; for example, "The Amalgamated Society of Engineers." The main purpose of the friendly societies is to provide against sickness and death ; the main purpose of the trades unions is to protect the workman against the capitalist—the provision against times of necessity being only a secondary object. A third mark of distinction is that trades unions invariably pay to their members "out of work" benefit, whilst friendly societies do not. It is obvious, however, that both institutions have a tendency to relieve the poor's rate. For fifty years trades unions were bitterly opposed, and the members were persecuted ; but friendly societies were patronized both by the landlords and clergymen and capitalists, and received the recognition and protection of Parliament long before the trades unions. Latterly we have seen the injustice of this persecution, and trades unions have been

recognized by economists and politicians generally as beneficent institutions. Mr. Howell says,\* "The growth and extent of friendly societies are evident to the most careless observer; their value and importance are attested by the experience of millions of the industrial classes. The number of societies registered and unregistered is stated to be about thirty-two thousand; the persons directly interested in them are computed to be over four millions; in addition to which, there are over four millions more indirectly interested, such as the wives, children, nominees, etc. The benefits paid annually amount to two millions sterling, the total accumulated funds being over eleven millions. In registered societies alone there are about nine millions in hand, invested and otherwise. As registration is purely voluntary, many societies decline to register; it is computed that not less than twelve thousand altogether decline registration."

The table on page 94 will enable the reader to understand the extent of relief afforded to the unemployed by various trades unions.

In addition to the foregoing benefits, many trades unions have a contingent fund for the relief of distressed members. "One of the most obvious benefits," says Mr. Howell,† "which accrue to the public, and to the nation at large is this: that those who are the

\* "The Conflicts of Capital and Labour," p. 484, by Mr. George Howell. Chatto and Windus.

† "The Conflicts of Capital and Labour," p. 157.

TABLE OF TRADE UNION BENEFITS.

Name of Society.	Weekly Contribution.	Sick Benefit per week.	Death Benefit.	Death of Wife.	Compensation for Injury.	Super-annuation per week.	Out of Work per week.	Emigration and Loss of Tools.	Strike Pay.
Engineers .. ..	15s.	10s. for 26 weeks; 9s. for 13 weeks; 8s. " 11s. " 13s. " 7s. " 25s. " 5s. " 3s. as long as ill	5s.	5s.	5s. 100	7s.	10s.	5s. 6d.	ros. extra by levy, 11s., and 2s. for wife, and 1s. 6d. for each child under twelve
Ironfounders .. ..	15s.	10s. for 13 weeks; 8s. " 11s. " 13s. " 7s. " 25s. " 5s. " 3s. as long as ill	10	5	15s.	4s. 6d.	9s.	Cost of passage and £1	
Boiler makers and Iron shipbuilders	15s.	11s.	12	6	100	4s., 5s., 6s.	8s.	..	
Masons .. ..	15s.	12s. for 26 weeks; 6s. as long as illness continues	12	2	10; 2 for child	50; total disable-ment, 100	From 4s. to 10s.	Travelling relief, 1s. per day and bed	..
Carpenters .. ..	15s.	12s.	7	5	100	8s.	10s.	5s. and tools full value	15s.
Bricklayers .. ..	6d.	12s.	7	5	50	4s. to 5s.	9s. travelling	..	12s.
Plasterers .. ..	6d.	10s.	10	6	50	5s.	9s. travelling	..	15s.
Steam-engine makers	1s.	10s.	10	5	100	5s.	10s.	..	ros.
Tailors .. ..	7d.	10s.	6	4	..	2s. 6d. & 5s.	9s. 4d. travelling	..	15s.

members of the trade union having an “out-of-work” fund, when thrown out of employment, are maintained out of the funds subscribed when in work, and are thus prevented from becoming a burden on the rates. Thousands of families are by these means kept from the degradation of pauperism. *They pay the rates, and in addition thereto, they insure themselves against the necessity of being the recipients of that for which the poor rate is supposed to be collected.*”

I find on a calculation of averages that, in the Amalgamated Society of Engineers, there is one out of every twenty-five members unemployed, and in receipt of benefit all the year through; and that in the Ironfounders’ Union there is one out of every sixteen unemployed. It would perhaps be unfair to give the proportion of masons and plasterers out of employment and in receipt of benefit, as these trades depend not only on the state of trade, but also on the state of the weather. They are unable to follow their regular employments during a great part of the winter and spring. It should be remembered that a strict supervision is kept over the admission of members to these societies: a drunkard or an unskilful man, or a man likely to be often out of employment from any cause would be rejected, as an unsuitable applicant for membership. We are now in a position which enables us to calculate the extent of the unemployed population of England and Wales, which is somewhat as follows:—

Total of indoor paupers in England and Wales *	...	700,000
Outdoor relief is granted in England and Wales to 80,000, for the most part to heads of families, which, reckoning five to a family	...	400,000
† Total of all families helped by other charities in England and Wales. No exact figures available, but in London and Liverpool there are as many families helped by charities as individuals by the poor-law officials. Hence we say 800,000 heads of families, or reckoning five to a family		4,000,000
Unemployed in receipt of relief from 32,000 friendly societies ; benefit being £2,000,000 annually, which at £25 a year would relieve 80,000 work- men, or reckoning five to a family	...	400,000
Of the Amalgamated Society of Engineers there are "out of work" an average of 1800 men, or reckoning five to a family	...	9000

\* These numbers ought to be doubled, because the poor-law statistics furnish only the average number of persons in the workhouse on one day. The number of paupers who accept relief during one year is about twice as many as the daily average. See Chapter II. for a further elucidation of this point.

† 30,000 "cases" were helped from this source in Liverpool last year. The population of Liverpool is 600,000, so that one in twenty were actually and directly helped thus. Now the population of Great Britain (exclusive of Ireland) is 31,000,000. One-twentieth of this number is 1,550,000, which, reckoning five to the family, amounts to no less than 7,750,000, or one-fourth of the total population.

$20/31,000,000$  total population of Great Britain.

1,550,000 proportion of "cases" helped.

5 in each family.

7,750,000 individuals helped.

It is possible that there may be twice as much poverty in Liverpool as in any other part of the kingdom, but it is not likely ; so that four millions are probably under-estimated.

And 860 unemployed through sickness, or reckoning five to a family	...	...	4300	
And 700 unemployed through old age, or reckoning five to a family	...	...	3500	
			—	16,800
Of the Ironfounders' Society there are "out of work"				
an average of 755 men, or reckoning five to a family	...	...	3775	
And 740 men unemployed through sick ness or old age, or reckoning five to a family	...	...	3700	
			—	7,475
Estimating the unemployed families of other societies tabulated on p. 94, <i>i.e.</i> boiler-makers and ship- builders, the masons, the carpenters, the brick- layers, the plasterers, the steam-engine makers, the tailors, at	...	...	...	50,000
			—	5,574,275

And now, if we add to this list of the unemployed the number of tramps who are kept every night at the workhouses, or are sent to lodging-houses by the guardians, concerning whom I can obtain no returns ; and the average number of criminals convicted in England and Wales, which is about twelve thousand annually ; and a large number who, being unable to obtain employment in the ordinary sense, live by robbery, begging, and prostitution, we shall see that there must be some six millions of the unemployed and their dependents in this wealthy land.

"Competition," says Arnold Toynbee, "has brought about two great opposing opinions : one that government should do nothing, the other that it should do

everything. The first arises from the contemplation of the immense wealth heaped up under a system of unimpeded individual action, and of the extraordinary folly and selfishness of the customs and legislation that controlled such action in the past. The second arises from the sufferings which unimpeded individualism has brought upon the working classes, who cry out that Government is bound to protect them from misery and starvation. Competition has been most successful in increasing the efficiency of production; distribution has lost, perhaps, more than it has gained by it. And the problem of distribution is the true problem of political economy at the present time."

What are the hungry masses doing to-day? What are they thinking of? Are they content to go on for ever thus? Is our beloved England safe still? I am not by any means sure that it is. We may have nothing to fear from France, from Germany, from Russia. But if we have Englishmen rebellious at home, we have a more terrible enemy to deal with than any combination of foreign powers. Already clouds are gathering. Working-men are intelligent enough to understand that their sufferings are not inevitable. They may not know what is the best method of reform, but that does not save us. Any method is better than none. There are avowed revolutionaries, openly inciting them to resistance, every day, in public spaces, and the hungry and unemployed are listening and learning. How long shall we be

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safe—six millions prosperous, and thirty millions, two-thirds of whom are either overwrought and underpaid, or destitute? How long? Ireland even now is weary of our government; but there would be no "Irish Question" possible, if it were not for the lack of work and the starvation which prevails throughout the land. No wonder she longs to take the reins in her own hand. Matters could not be much worse. But it is not only Ireland; London, and Manchester, and Birmingham, and Liverpool are causing trouble.

In London last winter the police were terrified; and "the mob," as we call it, behaved in a lawless manner, looting shops just as soldiers do in a besieged city. In Manchester they held a demonstration, and thousands of unemployed men besought the mayor and corporation to open "relief works" of some kind, they cared not what, so that work and food were to be had. In Birmingham they gathered in a great crowd at the residence of Mr. Chamberlain, to explain that they wanted no more charity, but work of any kind. And in Liverpool we have our own cloud of trouble hanging overhead; open-air "propagandist meetings" are held every week, where men are to be seen with angry, resentful faces and clenched fists, listening to the tale of their own wrongs. Recently the *Liverpool Courier*, in a paragraph headed "Starvation and Socialism," \* gave an account of a "Socialist"

\* *Liverpool Courier*, June 26, 1886.

meeting held in a cellar, when a speech was delivered to the following effect:—

“‘My lads,’ he commenced, with one hand in the breast of his ragged vest, and the other, as usual, plucking nervously at his beard, ‘this kind o’ work can’t last for ever.’ (Deep and earnest exclamations, ‘It can’t! It shan’t!’) ‘Well, boys,’ continued the speaker, ‘somebody ’ll have to find a road out o’ this. What we want is work, not work’us bounty, though the parish has been busy enough amongst us lately, God knows! What we want is honest work. (Hear, hear.) Now, what I proposes is that each of you gets fifty mates to join you; that ’ll make about twelve hundred starving chaps—’ ‘And then?’ asked several very gaunt and hungry-looking men excitedly. ‘Why, then—’ continued the leader. ‘Why, then,’ interrupted a cadaverous-looking man from the farther and darkest end of the cellar, ‘of course we’ll make a — London job of it, eh?’ ‘No, no,’ hastily interposed my friend, and, holding up his hand deprecatingly, ‘we’ll go peaceable about it, chaps; we’ll go in body to the town hall, and show our poverty, and ask for work. We’ll take the women and childer with us too.’ (‘Too ragged,’ ‘Too starved,’ ‘They can’t walk it.’) ‘The women’s rags is no disgrace, and the staggerin’ childer ’ll show what we come to. Let’s go a thousand strong, and ask for work and bread.’

From *To-day*, the Socialist monthly magazine, edited by Fabian Bland, for the month of July, 1886,

I quote the following, by Adeline Sergeant. It is a specimen of descriptive verse common in nearly every magazine, telling anew this story of the destitution of the English poor.

“OUT OF WORK.

“It was for Jim.  
He wouldn’t ha’ done it, sir, but for him.  
But what is a man to do,  
With as feeling a heart in his breast  
As ever a man possest  
(Which his name, sir, is ’Enery Drew),  
And me down here with the fever, and baby just dead,  
And Jim—that’s Jim in the corner—a-crying for bread ?

“Well known in the court  
(You ask ‘em) is ’Enery Drew.  
When friends ran short  
Of a shilling or two,  
It was him they came to for help, and he  
Would lend it, and welcome. I wish  
He’d ha’ listened to me,  
And we shouldn’t be here in this plight  
Without pence in the pocket, or food in the dish,  
Or, may be, a roof for the night.  
He was sober, hard-working, and strong ;  
And even when wages were low  
We could manage along.  
But how when there wasn’t no work? ’Twas so  
That we pawned our things, and his watch went first,  
His silver watch, and his Sunday clo’es,  
And the table and chairs, and the clock we chose  
Before we were married ; and then, at the worst,  
The Bible my father left me, and everything ;—  
Last week we lived on my wedding ring.  
We were always respectable, sir, before ;  
But the wolf, as the saying is, stood at the door ;  
And all the children but one were dead,  
And he a-crying for bread.

'Hungry!' That was his cry—our Jim !  
 We could have borne it but for him ;  
 'Enery, he'd been out all day  
 Tramping for work a weary way.  
 Not a penny was left us ; what could we do ?  
 I ask you, gentleman, what would you ?  
 Let Jim starve for a bite o' bread  
 While gentlefolks all lay warm a-bed,  
 Or drank of their white wine and their red ?  
 'I'll stand no more of it,' 'Enery said.

So away he went,  
 Me little thinking of what he meant ;  
 Till on Tuesday last, old Matthew, that lives down the stair,  
 Came in a-shouting, 'Your husband's afore the beak  
 For stealing a loaf of bread from a shop in the square,  
 And the bobbies have run him in, and he won't be out for a  
 week.'

That's all I know.  
 And I'm sure he did it for Jim—  
 Not for himself ; he was always slow  
 In taking even his own, as often I've said to him,  
 But, after all, it wasn't one loaf of bread  
 Would ha' saved our Jim : so Jim—little Jim—he's dead.  
 (They say it's a Christian land ;  
 Yet women and men at ease  
 Never give ear, nor lift their hand  
 To woes and wants like these.  
 And who in this Christian land  
 Will hark to a poor man's cry ?  
 And how can you make us understand  
 Why Christians let men die ?  
 It's tears of blood we shed,  
 As we starve and toil and freeze ;  
 It's work we want, not nioney and bread  
 In doles from the charities.  
 What wonder that men go mad  
 With trouble and toil and maze ?  
 What wonder that women go bad,  
 If nothing but badness pays ?)

It's not my business? True. But here, as I lie on my bed, Can you tell me, sir, what to say to my husband (who stole the bread) When he comes out of prison next week, and finds Jim—dead?"

O reader, we are trembling on the edge of a precipice. A "laissez-faire" policy is a madman's policy. England is not great; England is not even safe, so long as life and duty are permitted to drift away—away—to the bad steadily.

It cannot be either righteous or safe that we should be a nation made up of six millions of parents and children, well-to-do, unemployed many of us, in one class; and then thirty millions—parents and children, not one of whom is dependent on an income of so much as three pounds a week, and one-fifth of which is the destitute, necessarily unemployed, class.

And the marvel of it all is that men are starving and wanting employment because there is abundance, and because commodities are cheap.

We have forgotten—or we ~~have~~ have neglected if we ever knew them—the very rudiments of true economy. We have begun to believe that exchanges of commodities are somehow productive, and that honest labour is somehow a degradation. We have ceased to believe that our prosperity consists in the productiveness of the earth, and that this productiveness is always in proportion to the labour that we put into it. Foods, and clothing, are rotting because they are not

consumed, and yet men and women are on the verge of starvation.

“What is the doctrine of free trade,”\* says Mr. Illingworth, “but an exposition of the natural law, *that man has the natural right to obtain the necessities of life simply at the cost of the labour expended in obtaining them.*”

Here, at last, the dawn is breaking! The scales at last are falling from our eyes, and if we bravely walk towards this light which we dimly discern, we shall once more come forth and become a happy, healthy people, a prosperous nation, a blessed country. Heaven bless those who are willing to walk in the light!

\* “Distribution Reform,” by Thomas Illingworth. Cassell & Co.

## CHAPTER VI.

## THE CAUSES OF POVERTY.

“ Help truth, and truth shall help you !  
 Now reigneth pride in price,  
 And covetise  
 Is counted wise,  
 And lechery withouten shame,  
 And gluttony withouten blame.”

*Rhymes of John Ball in 1381.*

“ Good and bad results cannot be accidental, but must be necessary consequences of the constitution of things, and it is the business of moral science to deduce from the laws of life and the conditions of existence what kinds of actions necessarily tend to produce happiness and what kinds to produce unhappiness.”—HERBERT SPENCER, *Data of Ethics*.

ONE chief cause of the enforced idleness and poverty of the masses of the people has been the introduction of machinery under competitive conditions. This question has been frequently debated of late, and I am anxious to write as simply and clearly as possible on the matter.

Let us therefore imagine an island of three hundred inhabitants, and let us suppose that the wants

of all can be supplied, if every inhabitant works three hours a day.

Suppose now that a law is made, asserting that all who work must work nine hours a day. Let us consider what will be the effect of this change.

The first effect will be over-production.

This, however, will not be continued. There will quickly follow a period of what is called bad trade—that is to say, badly arranged trade; a period during which one hundred inhabitants are overwrought, whilst two hundred are thrown out of employment.

But there will be a further bad effect. At first, doubtless, the workmen would be paid three times as much as they received when their working hours were only three per day. But this cannot continue. Two hundred unemployed and destitute men in the labour market will very soon reduce the wages for a day of nine hours to something less than was paid for three hours a day formerly. It will be less than the former wage, because, when all had work at three hours a day, there was no competition amongst the labourers. Now, there will always be three applicants for every vacant situation; and the applicants will bid one against another, each offering to work for the lowest possible wage, until they come down to starvation wages. We observe, further, that the wealth of the island, which was formerly distributed in an equitable manner, is now hoarded in warehouses by those who conduct the trade of the island; and that although it

was extremely easy to enact the foolish nine hours' law, it will be extremely difficult to repeal the same ; there will be the specious but foolish cry of foreign competition ; there will be a sagacious philosopher ready to prove to the inhabitants that, as wealth depends on labour, it *must* be better to work nine hours than three hours, and that the only possible remedy is emigration. All which, however clever, are only false arguments, invented by greed to cover up its gains.

This imaginary island is not essentially different from Great Britain. A change, very similar, has taken place in our own country. Let me explain the parallel. I do not mean literally that men work nine hours where they formerly worked only three ; but I do mean that they work nine hours when there is necessity only for three ; and I mean, moreover, that they produce by means of their labour, every day, more than *three times* as much as they formerly did. The work actually done is a factor of much more importance than the number of hours worked. On our imaginary island it was the increased output, and not the increased hours of labour, which caused the trouble.

This year, in the month of May, travelling in the English Lake District, I found at Elter Water an aged weaver, in front of an old-fashioned hand-loom. He was weaving linen. I asked him how much he could weave in a day. He informed me that he could

weave five or six yards per day—"six yards narrow width, five yards broad width." He is a fair type of the old-fashioned weaver.

Seventy years ago all our weavers were such as he is ; and they did about the same quantity of work. To-day, however, we have the steam-power loom, and one weaver can attend to four looms at a time. At Accrington in Lancashire, I stood beside a weaver recently, who was weaving no less than a hundred and sixty yards every day. The consequence is that there are not so many weavers in England as there were formerly. There are, doubtless, more weavers in Lancashire than there were prior to the introduction of the steam-power loom ; and possibly there are as many in Yorkshire ; but there used to be weavers everywhere in England ; in Cornwall and Devonshire ; in Staffordshire and Lincolnshire ; in Kent and in Northumberland.\* Now there are none in these

\* Arnold Toynbee, in his lectures on the "Industrial Revolution," writes as follows : "When we turn to investigate the industrial organization of the time" (*i.e.* the end of the eighteenth century), "we find that the class of capitalist employers was as yet but in its infancy. A very large part of our goods were still produced on the domestic system. Manufacturers were little concentrated in towns, and only partially separated from agriculture. The 'manufacturer' was literally the man who worked with his own hands in his own cottage. Nearly the whole cloth trade of the West Riding, for instance, was organized on this system at the beginning of this century. An important feature in this industrial organization of the time was the existence of a number of small master-manufacturers, who were entirely independent, having capital and land of their own, for

places. And, so far as I can understand the historians, there are quite as many people in England who go forth without sufficient clothing as ever there were. So that, whatever advantages may have accrued to the English people from the introduction of the steam-power loom, it has not resulted in the better protection of their bodies from an inclement atmosphere. "It is questionable," says John Stuart Mill, "if all the improvements in machinery have lightened the day's toil of a single human being."

When the inventor of a new machine is endeavouring to persuade an employer of labour to purchase his machine, his chief anxiety is to prove that it will save labour ; and, as a consequence, the payment of wages ;

they combined the culture of small freehold pasture farms with their handicraft."

See also Defoe's "Tour," iii. 144-46. "The land near Halifax," he says, "was divided into small Enclosures from two Acres to six or seven each, seldom more, every three or four Pieces of Land had an House belonging to them ; . . . hardly an House standing out of a Speaking-distance from another ; . . . we could see at every House a Tenter, and on almost every Tenter a piece of Cloth, or Kersie, or Shalloon. . . . At every considerable house was a manufactory. . . . Every clothier keeps one horse at least, to carry his Manufactures to the Market ; and every one, generally, keeps a Cow or two or more for his Family. By this means the small Pieces of enclosed Land about each house are occupied, for they scarce sow Corn enough to feed their Poultry. . . . The houses are full of lusty Fellows, some at the Dye-vat, some at the looms, some dressing the Cloths ; the women and the children carding or spinning ; being all employed, from the youngest to the oldest. . . . Not a Beggar to be seen nor an idle person."

that is to say, the improvement in the machine invariably turns upon its capacity for producing more quickly—sometimes more efficiently—a given amount of work ; and that it will obviate the necessity of employing as many men as formerly.

I agree with Karl Marx that machinery never creates any new value. I believe the whole purpose of machinery is to produce the former amount of wealth by the employment of less labour ;— that they are all *labour-saving* machines, and are never introduced to the public under any other pretext. But under a competitive system it is impossible to use them for this purpose. If one employer of labour ventures to do it, he is speedily ruined, because *he manufactures for sale*, and he cannot sell his goods as cheaply as the man who keeps his machinery running all day. If he cannot sell his products, he cannot go on employing his workmen. He is thus compelled, not only by self-interest, but by inevitable circumstances, to use the machinery he has purchased (not to lighten the hours of toil) but to reduce wages ; to throw a large proportion of men out of employment ; and to secure for himself a larger share than formerly of the wealth which they produce.

Now, although this has been the result, thus far, of improved machinery, I do not think that it is an inevitable result. It is inevitable, and will remain so, as long as competition remains unchecked—as long as competition is the only force which controls our

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productive enterprises. It is, therefore, this compulsory competition, and not machinery, which is the root-cause of our poverty and pauperism.

To speak of the liberty of the English people so long as these are the only conditions of commerce and of industry, is to indulge in a pitiful jargon. Liberty of a limited kind exists only for one-sixth of the nation ; the rest are in actual bondage to customs and institutions which are human and not divine ; and which, I shall endeavour to show, are unnecessary. "There is a close connection," says Arnold Toynbee, "between the growth of freedom and the growth of pauperism ; it is scarcely too much to say that the latter is the price we pay for the former. The first statute which is in any sense a poor-law, was enacted at a time when the emancipation of the serfs was proceeding rapidly. This is the Statute of Labourers, made in 1349," etc.

But competition need not remain unchecked. It is possible within the walls of the reformed workhouse to make the proper and legitimate use of machinery—that is to say, to shorten the hours of toil ; but this, as I have said, can never take place under a competitive form of social government.

Let it be granted that there is a class of the community which thrives best by competition. We need not hinder these people in any way ; and it is no part of my purpose to persuade them to abandon the competitive system. The time has not yet arrived for

this. All I plead for is that a co-operative system shall be organized ; where work shall be done, not for the sake of sale, but for use ; a system under whch those industrious men may earn a comfortable livelihood, who are not very ambitious, not very cunning, not very unscrupulous, not very pugnacious.

Remember, too, that since the days of Queen Elizabeth it has been freely admitted that the State has a duty towards the poor, *i.e.* to provide the necessities of life for all who cannot supply themselves. Thence follows my conclusion : that *the true motto for a well-governed State ought to be—co-operation in the produce of the necessities of life, and competition in the produce of its luxuries.* But let me be understood clearly at this point. I do not mean that this co-operation should be the inevitable condition under which all men earn the necessities of life ; but I do mean that the co-operative production of the necessities of life should be a possibility open to all who stand in need of these things. The most tender-hearted of philanthropists never yet begged that the poor might have luxuries ; they are a questionable boon in any case. But philanthropists have been unanimous in their desire to provide the poor with food and raiment and shelter.\*

\* On December 6, 1884, Mr. Thomas Hughes, Q.C., spoke of "Competition" as follows at a meeting of co-operators : "I must go back nearly forty years. I was then a youth fresh from Oxford, where I had attended much more to cricket and rowing and boxing than to the lectures on Ethics and Politics of our

Having endeavoured thus far to show how the employment of machinery under competitive conditions tends to increase the number of the unemployed poor, I now turn to another cause of poverty—land monopoly.

When we once realize the truth, that Land,

chairman, excellent as these were. I had lived all my life in a Berkshire village, where my mother and the parson's wife knew every poor person in the parish, and there was absolutely no distress. You may imagine, then, the effect upon me of a sudden plunge into what was then one of the worst quarters of London. My rooms were in Lincoln's Inn Fields, and I passed daily, twice at least, through the horrible nests of squalor and vice which then stood on the site of the New Law Courts. I soon found that (with the exception of thieves and beggars) these nests were peopled by slop-workers—poor men, women, and children, who, if their employers could only have flogged them, would have been in a far worse case than any negro slave. I saw that the competitive struggle for life had brought them to this pass ; and yet the most approved teachers, in reviews and newspapers, which I had begun to read, and even in Parliament, were insisting on 'free competition' as a corollary to 'free trade,' and a necessary pillar of industrial prosperity. The natural consequence was that I had all but become a physical-force Chartist, when the late Mr. Maurice became chaplain of Lincoln's Inn. He at once gathered a number of young students round him for the discussion of social questions, and work amongst the poor, and within a year I had thrown over Chartism as a delusion, had become a Christian Socialist, and was hard at work establishing associations amongst the London slop-workers. I have never swerved from that day to this, and am, if possible, to-day a more convinced Christian Socialist than I was in 1849. And you all know well, for I have always proclaimed it, that it is as a Christian Socialist that I have worked cordially in your ranks ever since, through bad and good times."

Labour, and Capital are the three factors of production, we are able to understand the importance of the land question. We see that the only absolute limit to industry is the access to natural material. We understand that a man who is a large landowner may, if he chooses, deprive thousands of his fellow-beings of the opportunities of earning their livelihood. And when we consider our starving unemployed thousands, we are prompted by our noblest instincts to cry—Labour must be unfettered ; come what may come, industry must not be hindered. We realize the startling truth that if one man owned all the land in any country, he could demand any price, or condition, for its use that he saw fit ; and as long as his ownership was acknowledged, the other members of the community would have only death to face, as an alternative to submission to him.

“ Land which went heretofore for twenty or forty pounds a year,” said Hugh Latimer, “ now is let for fifty or a hundred. My father was a yeoman, and had no lands of his own ; only he had a farm of three or four pounds by the year at the uttermost, and here-upon he tilled so much as kept half a dozen men. He had walk for a hundred sheep, and my mother milked thirty kine ; he was able and did find the King a harness, with himself and his horse while he came to the place that he should receive the King’s wages. I can remember that I buckled his harness when he went to Blackheath Fields. He kept me to school ; he

married my sisters with five pound a-piece, so that he brought them up in godliness and fear of God. He kept hospitality for his poor neighbours, and some alms he gave to the poor. And all this he did of the same farm ; where he that now hath it payeth sixteen pounds by the year or more ; and is not able to do anything for his prince, for himself, nor for his children, or give a cup of drink to the poor."

The tendency of landowning here described, by the good man who was destined to become one of the noblest martyrs of Christendom, is a tendency which has always existed in England ; a tendency to take away the fruits of the farmer's labour, and to leave him as nearly destitute as possible, and so to check industry. It is at least a legitimate subject for discussion, whether it is beneficial to society that those who do not labour (I use the word in its broadest and freest sense) should derive any benefit from the labour of others.

But no more dramatic example can be given, than that referred to by Mr. Henry George as taking place during recent years in California. First, we have a scene presented of the human race suffering from lack of bread, troubled by frequently recurring years of famine. Then come the glad tidings that away in California there are fertile fields of wheat so expansive and so luxuriant, that if only the wheat could be brought into the markets of Europe, it would reduce the price of the poor man's loaf fifty per cent. It is

explained, however, that we cannot easily get the wheat into our markets; it must be shipped and carried by sea from San Francisco to the Isthmus of Panama, then it must be unshipped, and carried overland to the Bay of Mexico; and we are told that the isthmus, although only twenty-seven miles across, is a fever-haunted place, where men die every journey from the effects of the climate. Arrived, however, at the sea-coast in the Gulf of Mexico, the wheat must be again shipped and brought by sea, thousands of miles to New York before it can be said to influence the markets of the world. But alas! so much has been spent upon it now for carriage, by sea and by land, that it cannot be sold any cheaper than that produced at home.

It is determined, however, that the difficulty shall be overcome. The glorious prospect is too tempting to be allowed to pass out of sight without an effort to retain it. And a wonderful railway is constructed overland, from New York to San Francisco. The journey will be accomplished at a trifling risk, and within seven days. Surely now the millennium is at hand! And thousands of eager workers flock to California to grow the wheat, and to help on the good time promised. They go forth with spade and plough and seed-baskets. Alas! alas! only to find that a number of cunning men have been allowed to outwit the whole world. At a ridiculously low price they have purchased the whole of the available land, and now they stoutly refuse to allow any one to use it

until they have been paid a thousand per cent. more than they gave for it. A few of the workers can comply ; but for the rest, they come back to New York and Europe depressed and hungry ; and the human race is confronted with an obstacle of its own making. It has permitted the private ownership of land. The plain duty of the State, therefore, is to undo the mischief, in the best possible way.

Concerning the impoverishment of the people which is due to our land laws, I do not propose to say much more in this chapter. Mr. Henry George has recently explained the connection ; and his book has been so widely read, that it is unnecessary to go into all the details of the question. But I am compelled to question what he calls "the justice" of his remedy. I agree with him in his statement of the evils resulting from the private ownership of land. He does not overstate the importance of the question. I agree with him that it is the duty of the State to undo the mischief ; but I do not think that Mr. George's method of undoing the mischief is the best possible way. I do not believe that it is either necessary or right to dispossess the present owners of the land without a fair compensation. And I believe that Mr. George himself would not attempt to uphold the justice of his remedy, if he were not convinced, to begin with, that confiscation is the only possible way out of the dilemma.

Long years must pass before the English people can be educated to see the question as Mr. George

does ; and a still longer period before they can consent to a policy which seems so much like robbery. If it were the only possible plan of restoration, it would be right to confiscate ; but because there is another and a better way, it is wrong. Hope does not lie in this direction. We are reluctant to act because we are asked to choose between two evils ; and it is a divine instinct which counsels the nation to wait under such circumstances—to wait until it is absolutely certain that we must choose between two such courses. We cannot choose either one or the other—either the present injustice of private property in land, or the confiscation method of reform—without violating our sense of natural rights.

But Mr. W. Stanley-Jevons, who might have been writing in defence of Mr. Henry George's proposal, says, "The first step must be to rid our minds of the idea that there are any such things in social matters as abstract rights."\* Mr. George's defence of his plan is based upon a similar idea ; that is to say, the idea that no man has any claim to his property except by permission of the State.

Both writers, however, are wrong in this. The fact is just the reverse ; that is to say, there are certain inalienable natural rights called, for brevity's sake, the rights of man ;—the right to live, to think, to speak ; and the Parliament or the King exists only for the better protection of these rights. Man does not exist

\* "The State in Relation to Labour."

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for the sake of governments—but governments for the sake of man.

There was a time when there were no governments ; but there were men even then ; and these men had rights and duties, and it was for the sake of these, that a form of government was instituted (*i.e.* for the better suppression of brigandage, robbery, etc.), and it follows, therefore, that a government cannot do what it list in everything ; it follows that government is subordinate to human rights and duties ; to truth and justice ; and not in any sense supreme over them. It surely cannot pretend to cancel that which was the cause of its own existence. It is quite possible to glorify injustice, to legalize it, to bolster it up by the battalions and armaments of a nation ; it is quite possible to consecrate injustice with solemn forms and awful penalties. But, after all, it is nothing but a hideous injustice. It ruins a kingdom and corrupts a people like any other injustice ; and by-and-by the light of God's justice is seen shining alongside ; and the people then know it as it is ; and they denounce, in the name of the Lord, the law which men have made, forgetful either of its pomp or circumstance.

Government has great liberty ; but liberty only to do those things which tend to protect the natural rights—which Mr. Jevons tells us do not exist. Nay, we may go further, and say that as these rights never were conferred by any government, they would not be injured by any fiat of government ; however

peremptory, however powerful the government that gave utterance to the fiat.

Now, Mr. George plays fast and loose with this principle. When it serves his purpose he uses it. When it hinders his purpose he drops it. For example: "The recognition of individual proprietorship of land is the denial of the natural rights of other individuals. . . . For as labour cannot produce without land, the denial of the equal right to the use of land, is necessarily the denial of the right of labour to its own produce. . . . The fundamental law of nature that her enjoyment by man shall be consequent upon his exertion is thus violated."\* In this quotation Mr. George stands bravely as the advocate of the invisible divine law.

But when he comes to the question of confiscation, he is unable to find any support in the divine law, and he falls back for evidence in support of his plea, upon expediency, and upon our "common law,"—that is to say, the law of the land; and he couples this reference, curiously enough, with an attempt to claim some sort of infallibility for the justice of our "common law," which, coming from Mr. George, seems very grotesque.

"Nor is it right that there should be any concern about the proprietors of land. That such a man as John Stuart Mill should have attached so much importance to the compensation of landowners as to

\* Chapter on "The Injustice of Private Property in Land."

have urged the confiscation merely of the future increase of rent, is only explainable by his acquiescence,"\* etc. . . . And here he quotes Mill's "Principles of Political Economy," Book I. chap. ii., sect. vi., and continues: "Great as he was and pure as he was—warm heart and noble mind—yet he never saw the true harmony of economic laws (!) nor realized how from this one great fundamental wrong, flow want and misery, and vice and shame. Else he could never have written this sentence: 'The land of Ireland, the land of every country, belongs to the people of that country. The individuals called landowners have no right in morality or justice to anything but the rent, or compensation for its saleable value.' In the name of the prophets—figs! . . . Herbert Spencer says: '*Had* we to deal with the parties who originally robbed the human race of its heritage, we might make short work of the matter.'† Why not make short work of the matter anyhow? . . . Try the case of the landholders by the maxim of the common law, by which the rights of man and man are determined. The common law, we are told, is the perfection of reason, and certainly the landowners cannot complain of its decision, for it has been built up by and for landowners. Now, what does the law allow to the innocent possessor when the land for which he paid his money is adjudged to rightfully belong to another?

\* Chapter on "Claim of Landowners to Compensation."

† "Social Statics," p. 142.

Nothing at all. That he purchased in good faith gives him no right or claim whatever. . . . If Quirk, Gammon and Co., can mouse out a technical flaw in your parchments, or hunt up some forgotten heir, who never dreamed of his rights, not merely the land, but all your improvements may be taken away from you. Now if we apply to this case of the People *v.* the Landowners, the same maxims of justice," etc.

It is quite plain that Mr. George is consciously labouring under a burden he is not accustomed to. He endeavours to attack John Stuart Mill and Mr. Herbert Spencer in their contention that landowners must be compensated, and he justifies himself by a reference to a common law case, in which there is gross injustice, obvious surely to every one, who is not relying upon the case to bolster up a pet theory. The theory of natural rights no longer suits his purpose, and he falls back upon the rights conferred by governments!

One of the natural rights of man is the right to own that which has been earned by the sweat of the brow ; and in many instances land has been so obtained ; and it is the true function of the State to protect the workman in this ownership. The State may not violate one of the natural rights in order to rectify the infringement of some other natural right. John Stuart Mill is right, and Mr. Herbert Spencer is right, whilst Mr. Henry George is wrong in this matter.

From the principle here stated I deduce two con-

clusions regarding the land question. One of these is in entire accordance with "Progress and Poverty;" and one is at variance with it. First, that there ought to be no private ownership of land, because it hinders the right to live; second, that when the land is appropriated by the State, it ought to be accompanied by a just compensation; because land is in many cases the purchase of the fruit of labour, and it is quite as much the duty of the State to protect the workman in the possession of his earnings, as it is to guard the people against the sufferings brought about by land monopolies. It would be impossible to discriminate between those who own land with a just title, and those who do not. We must, therefore, treat all land-owners as having a just title, and pay compensation when we deprive them of it.

A third cause of the present poverty of the English people is the custom of paying a certain sum of money every year as interest on borrowed money—the custom of usury. Every year there are more and more persons in England who are living upon usury. Now it is impossible in the nature of things for this increase to continue without increasing the poverty of the industrious classes; and, as Mr. Frederic Harrison truly says, "The working class is the only class which is not a class. It is the nation. It represents, so to speak, the body as a whole, of which the other classes only represent special organs. These organs, no doubt, have great and indispensable functions, but

for most purposes of government the State consists of the vast labouring majority. Its welfare depends on what their lives are like.” \*

Usury is a specified sum taken from the earnings of workers and paid to drones. It will help us to understand the effect of this if we consider the following.

Let us suppose a hive of bees, where forty pounds of honey are collected every week. During the first week there are forty working bees and twenty drones. They have all enough to eat ; but if the drones were absent, they would have something to lay aside for winter. During the second week there are forty workers and forty drones ; and the workers are compelled either to work overtime or to accept short rations. During the third week there are forty workers and eighty drones ; and there is hard work for the workers and acute starvation throughout the whole hive.

To-day, in England, one-third of the annual earnings of the country is paid to the industrious wealth-producing class, the remaining two-thirds are paid to the unproductive class. But we do not realize the injustice of this matter until we understand that the small share is divided amongst a very great number, and the double share amongst a select few. Of course there ought to be inequality of remuneration —wages ought to be paid according to merit—but it

\* Quoted in “The Co-operative Commonwealth,” by Laurence Gronlund.

is quite possible to believe this, and yet to be dissatisfied with the present division of English wealth, and the unproductive class ought to be subdivided into, first, those who earn salaries by rendering services, such as musicians or teachers, and second, those who render no personal service whatever.

Now, in human society, the tendency of our custom of paying usury, is to steadily increase the class of the drones ; because it is said these men (those at least who are wise) do not live on their capital. It lasts for ever. At least that is the generally accepted theory concerning capital. It is popularly supposed that a man may both have his cake and eat it, if only he eats it in small quantities, once a year—"five per cent. per annum," as we say.

Aristotle, one of the wisest of wise men, in his work on "Politics," considers that usury ought to be altogether prohibited as a dishonourable practice, and one which is altogether against nature ; he contends that merely lending money is not increasing the stock of commodities, but that it is making a profit at the expense of other people.

The exaction of usury, even five per cent., used to be a punishable offence in England.\* Since its toleration, private fortunes have enormously increased. The rich people are wealthier to-day than ever they were before. And in order to realize the importance of this source of the poverty of our industrial classes,

\* See "Usury and the English Bishops," by Mr. Robert Sillar.

I beg to call the reader's attention to the following illustration of the danger. In the year 1883, the whole earnings of the United Kingdom amounted to 1265 millions sterling. Now, Mr. Vanderbilt's fortune is forty millions. At present it is keeping up his establishment, and is doubling itself every fourteen years. Let us see what will have happened in seventy years.

The present amount is something over 40 millions.

We thus see that within seventy years Mr. Vanderbilt, or his son, will have a fortune equal to the whole earnings of the United Kingdom for twelve months. He could bribe every farmer to give up cultivating his land, and every weaver to give up weaving, every producer in Great Britain to give up producing for twelve months. He will have more power than any king ever had. Nothing proves so much the wrongfulness of our ideas on the subject of usury as the false nature of such a fortune. It is literally "fabulous wealth." It exists only in name.

In the year 1875, twenty-three Englishmen died leaving fortunes of over a quarter of a million each. In one year these men left a total of £12,390,000. Their names are as follows :—

Roger Lyon Jones, Liverpool ... ... £350,000  
William Tarn, Chislehurst ... ... 500,000

John Hargreaves, Berks	...	...	...	600,000
Joseph Love, Durham	...	...	...	1,000,000
Strutt, Derbyshire	...	...	...	900,000
Lady Vane	...	...	...	250,000
Joseph Goff	...	...	...	350,000
Virgil Pomfret	...	...	...	400,000
Henry Adderly	...	...	...	250,000
William Gibbs, Bristol	...	...	...	800,000
Charles Turner, M.P., Liverpool	...	...	...	700,000
J. A. Arbuthnot, Windsor	...	...	...	400,000
Peter Ormrod, Lancashire	...	...	...	700,000
Robert Alfrey, Berkshire	...	...	...	400,000
James Houghton, Liverpool	...	...	...	250,000
Wynn Ellis, Whitstable	...	...	...	600,000
William P. Herrick	...	...	...	800,000
Rt. Hon. G. A. F. B. Howe	...	...	...	250,000
Rt. Hon. J. W. Hogg, Grosvenor Crescent				250,000
James Baird, Cambusoon	...	...	...	1,190,000
Earl of Sheffield	...	...	...	300,000
H. K. Belstone, Manchester	...	...	...	250,000
Charles Lambert, Upper Thames Street	...			900,000

Sooner or later we shall understand that this custom of the payment of usury, like the payment of land rent, is at variance with the natural rights of mankind ; that it robs labour of its fruits ; we shall read with revived interest the fifteenth chapter of the Book of Deuteronomy, and shall say that, after all, the ancient Hebrew legislator was right ; he obeyed a divine instinct when he condemned usury in the interest of the general body of his people. Some sincere persons who see the evil wrought by usury, defend it on the supposition that the world could not carry on its daily business without usury ; others go wrong in their conclusions because they never dis-

criminate between credit and usury. Credit is faith ; usury is often the mark of our want of faith. Seven per cent. is an argument in favour of our want of faith ; fourteen per cent. is a token of still less faith. A free loan is the mark of complete faith. The rate of interest always depends on the necessities of the borrower. When faith or credit is shaken, trade is injured, and the temptation of seven per cent. often causes men to run risks which they would never look at, if usury were forbidden altogether, and if the public realized the error of its ways in this matter. To those persons who believe that we could not get any great works accomplished without usury, I beg to commend the account of the way in which General Le Brock built the meat market of Guernsey.

The States of Guernsey, having determined to build a meat market, voted £4000 to defray the cost. Instead of borrowing this sum at five per cent. interest, the governor issued four thousand cardboard tokens, on which were inscribed "Guernsey Meat Market Notes ;" they represented £1 each, and were legal currency by universal assent. With these notes the States paid the contractor ; and with them he paid his workmen, and all who supplied him with materials. They were freely taken by tradesmen for goods, by landlords for rent, by the authorities for taxes. In due season the market was completed. The butchers' stalls, with some public rooms constructed over them, were let for an annual rent of £400. At the expira-

tion of the first year of this tenancy, the States called in the first batch of notes, numbered 1 to 400, and with the £400 of real money received for rent, redeemed the £400 of representative money, expressed by the "Meat Market Notes." At the end of ten years all the notes were redeemed, through the application of ten years' rental. In this way they built a very good market-house without paying any interest on borrowed money, and without injuring anybody.

I am informed that one of the first docks constructed on the banks of the river Mersey in Liverpool was made in the same manner; labour notes were issued which circulated all through the town as money does, and they were redeemed out of the dock dues of the first few years. For my own part I fail to see why we may not build all our harbours, and our corporation water-works and gas-works in exactly the same way—without borrowing any money, and without compelling ourselves to pay interest in addition to the actual cost of the enterprise.

In order to help the reader to understand that our carelessness with regard to usury is a comparatively modern symptom—to prove to him that it is a striking example of a retrograde change of feeling—I will here quote from St. Chrysostom's "Homily on St. Matthew": "Nothing exceeds this modern system of usury; indeed, these usurers traffic in other people's misfortunes; taking gain through their adversity;

under the appearance of compassion they dig for the distressed a pit of misery ; under the appearance of giving to the indigent, extending the hand to relieve him who harbours from the storm, and alluring him only to be shipwrecked upon the shoals and shallows of an unforeseen whirlpool. Commanded not to lock up our money, even the product of our honest industry, and to hold our house ever open to receive the poor, we collect riches through their wants ; flattering ourselves that we have discovered an excusable system of avarice and rapine. Your riches were given you to relieve the poor, but not to plunge them into misery. Why have you abandoned your God, in order to follow horrid riches ? Are you not aware that this practice is forbidden in the Old Testament also ? Should you consult also the dispositions of temporal laws on the matter, you will find that usury has been always considered a mark of the most barefaced impudence."

The following newspaper paragraph exhibits in a popular manner the wrongfulness of usury :—

" The other day at the Bolton county court, before Mr. Coventry, deputy-judge, a case was heard in which a money-lender of Bolton sued a tram guard named William A. Ashurst for £2 on a promissory note. Ashurst, it was stated, borrowed £4, and signed a promissory note for £6. This sum was to be paid back at 10s. per week, the interest being, as remarked by the judge, 600 per cent."

I do not, however, see any difference *in principle*

between 6 per cent. and 600 per cent. If 600 per cent. is mischievous and wicked, 6 per cent. of the same thing cannot be regarded as a beneficent institution.

There are, I think, two ways of checking the custom of paying usury as it now exists in England. The first, and the one which I like best, which would not only check it, but would abolish it altogether, is to make the conditions of life so easy, through a perfect co-operation, that all men may obtain the necessaries of life by the expenditure of a few hours labour every day during the time of health. If these conditions prevailed, I believe that none but the dishonest would ever attempt to borrow on usury, and that fact alone would so speedily reduce the temptation to lend to any one except a friend—and then for sweet love's sake—that usury would die a natural death. Its seems to me that it is a fungus which will not live, when men can easily live an honest, independent life. But there is another method of checking it, which may be advocated by those who do not agree with the main purpose of this book, but who see the evils produced in society by usury. And in introducing this remedy to the reader I call his attention to a fourth cause of the poverty of the industrial classes—the banking monopoly. The second method of checking the practice of usury, is to deal with it on the principle of the trite saying, “give it rope enough, and it will hang itself.” At present we actually encourage it by law. We passed a very mischievous

Act of Parliament in the year 1844, called the Bank Act. This Act gives a monopoly, that is to say, exceptional privileges, in banking to certain persons, who have the power to use it most mischievously. Many of the failures of English men engaged in productive enterprise is due to this Act of Parliament. The rate of discount is raised or reduced by the Bank of England (as it is called, although it is only a joint-stock bank) in quite an arbitrary manner—arbitrary, I mean, in the sense of having no regard for the commerce of the country. Ninety-nine pounds out of every hundred pounds' worth of business transactions in London are negotiated through the banks. So that this privilege of deciding the rate of discount is a terrible weapon to give to any man or body of men. Of course they pay their shareholders large dividends every year, who have very secure investments. Now it ought not to be that the trade of England should thus do obeisance to banking. But it ought to be the exact reverse of this. Instead of one bank having special privileges in a large town able to say yea or nay in an arbitrary manner to all who enter into productive enterprises, there ought to be half a dozen banks, all having equal chances of serving the interests of trade and commerce; each trying to outstrip the others in the facilities for productive trade which it offers. In short, there ought to be perfectly free trade in the business of banking, and if that were so the whole attitude of the banking companies would be

changed at once, as regards the trades of England. Capital for productive enterprise would be much more easily obtained, and the rate of interest very much reduced.

In confirmation of this opinion, let me direct the reader's attention to the fact that prior to 1844 there was free banking in Scotland, and it was an exceedingly prosperous country. When the Act was passed the Scotchmen protested against it vigorously on their own behalf, saying that "it was wrong to give Scotland the physic because England was sick," but I do not think that many of them realized to the full the serious nature of the Bank Act of 1844.

Sir Walter Scott was one of those who protested against it, and defended the Scotch custom of free-trade in banking operations. In "Malachi Malagrowther's Letters," which were published in the *Globe and Traveller*, he writes: "I assume, without hazard of contradiction, that banks have existed in Scotland for near one hundred and twenty years; that they have flourished, and the country has flourished with them; and that, during the last fifty years particularly, provincial banks, or branches of the chartered banks, have gradually extended themselves in almost every Lowland district in Scotland; that the notes, and especially the small notes which they distribute, entirely supply the demand for a medium of currency. . . . It is not less unquestionable, that the consequences of this banking system, as conducted in

Scotland, have been attended with the greatest advantage to the country. The facility which it has afforded to the industrious and enterprising agriculturist or manufacturer, as well as to the trustees of the public in executing national works, has converted Scotland from a poor, miserable, and barren country, into one where, if nature had done less, art and industry have done more than in perhaps any country in Europe, England herself not excepted. Through means of the credit which this system has afforded, roads have been made, bridges built, and canals dug, opening up to reciprocal communication the most sequestered districts of the country ; manufactures have been established, unequalled in extent or success ; wastes have been converted into productive farms ; the productions of the earth for human use have been multiplied twenty-fold ; while the wealth of the rich, and the comforts of the poor, have been extended in like proportion. And all this in a country, where the rigour of the climate, and the sterility of the soil, seem united to set improvement at defiance. Let those who remember Scotland forty years since bear witness if I speak truth or falsehood."

It was in consequence of a sort of monopoly in banking operations that in the Middle Ages the Jews became so rich. They were forbidden to exact usury of each other, but permitted to take it from foreigners. It was considered sinful in the Christian Church, and Christians were forbidden to lend on usury. In this

way a valuable monopoly fell into the hands of the Jews; and, as a consequence, they became both wealthy and influential. As a matter of fact there has always and everywhere, except in Scotland, been some sort of monopoly. There has always been less free-trade in banking than in any other business, although it seems to me to be the one occupation above all others where free-trade would be good in its influence upon both the production of wealth and the more general distribution of it.

In Tooke's "History of Prices," vol. vi. p. 748, the reader may find a valuable table, which shows the exact amount of profit realized during a long series of years by the whole of the banks of the United States, from which it appears that the average rate of profit during the twenty-three years, was  $13\frac{1}{2}$  per cent. Mr. Bagehot has compared the published returns of 110 English banks for the year 1867, and he says : "The result of these banks, as regards the dividends they pay, is—

		Number of Companies.	Capital.
Above 20 per cent. ... ..	...	15	£5,302,767
Between 15 and 20 per cent. ... ..	...	20	£5,439,439
" 10 " 15 " .. ..	...	36	£14,056,950
" 5 " 10 " .. ..	...	36	£14,182,379
Under 5 per cent. ... ..	...	3	£1,350,000
		110	£40,331,535

“that is to say,” continues Mr. Bagehot, “above 25 per cent. of the capital employed in these banks pays over 15 per cent. and  $62\frac{1}{2}$  per cent. of the capital pays more than 10 per cent. So striking a result is not to be shown in any other joint-stock trade.”

Mr. Shadwell, in his “Principles of Political Economy,” seems to realize the importance of free-trade in banking and the abolition of bank monopolies; but, in consequence of a single hasty conclusion, he stops short of the true remedy. “Whatever be the mode in which banks are required to meet their engagements, some check must be imposed upon them to prevent them from manufacturing paper money *ad libitum*.” A moment’s consideration would convince Mr. Shadwell of the error contained in this paragraph. Parliament can impose no check like that which free-trade would impose. If a banker manufactured paper money in large quantities, *and kept it in his coffers*, it is obvious that no harm would be done in any way. So that the real danger which Mr. Shadwell apprehends is the danger of the notes being circulated. But this danger is an impossible one. When a bank issues notes *ad libitum*, that is to say, more than are required for the trade of the district, they come back quickly to be deposited in the bank. Men in business take their spare money to the bank every day. So that the absurdity of the situation would soon become apparent to the bankers. The superfluous notes would produce no advantage

either to the banker or any one else, and he would cease to attempt to put more notes in circulation than trade required.

The reason why we are a "shop-keeping" nation, lies in the fact of our bank monopoly. Its effect is to put restraints upon productive enterprises, whilst almost unlimited credit facilities are obtainable in all the occupations of middle-men, *i.e.* the shop-keeping class. I do not believe that a credit system is the best possible system ; but if we must have credit, then I am anxious to show that its evils can be most effectually reduced and guarded against, by removing all obstacles to the supply of capital for productive enterprise ; which is the same as asking for the abolition of bank monopolies.

I have hinted, in the preceding paragraph, at a fifth cause of the poverty of the industrial classes in England, and a method of moderating its influence—that is to say, the unnecessarily large number of mere distributors of produce, the shop-keeping class. Half a dozen men with horses and traps visit the street in which I live every day distributing milk ; another half-dozen, with a similar outfit, visit the street supplying the householders with bread. Now, it is impossible to give any good reason why I should give my orders to one or another of these tradesmen. They are all most attentive, most scrupulous and obliging ; nevertheless, it is absolutely certain that one milkman and one baker would suffice to distribute the class of

produce in which they deal. Co-operative societies for the supply of household requisites have been opened in most large towns ; and they have reduced the number of shopkeepers ; but at the cost of much suffering to tradesmen and ill-feeling, because of their competition.

I do not think that any enumeration of the causes of poverty would be complete without some reference to the operations of the Stock Exchange. Every shilling which the stockbroker takes away from the market to his villa in the country is a shilling taken from the working class and cunningly appropriated by a drone. If all the stockbrokers of England were to emigrate, we should be none the poorer ; we should have fewer villa residences to maintain ; and there would be a step taken towards that social justice we so sorely need. They do not produce ; they do not educate ; they do not contribute to the welfare of society in any way ; and yet they live upon the fat of the land, by reason of their cunning, and therefore they are a cause of the poverty of the people.\*

\* The words of Mr. Rae on this subject are accurate and just when he says,\* "Socialists count all speculation illegitimate, because they fail to see that speculation, conducted in good faith, exercises a moderating influence upon the oscillations of prices, preventing them from falling so low, or rising so high, as they would otherwise do. Speculation has thus a legitimate and beneficial work to perform in the industrial system, and if it performed its work rightly, it ought to have the opposite

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\* "Contemporary Socialism," p. 376.

And now I think that I have enumerated the chief causes of the impoverishment of the masses of the English people. I have in a previous chapter dwelt upon the maladministration of the poor-law system as a source of poverty. Added to this we have traced the germs of poverty to the speculations of the Stock Exchange; bank monopolies; usury; the private ownership of land; and we have seen that the introduction of machinery, so beneficial as it might have been to the industrial classes under just co-operative laws, has caused more poverty and pauperism amongst the masses of the people than any other cause which I have named.

But there is another class of causes, such as idleness and wastefulness—for which, however, individuals and not society are mainly responsible. I propose in this book only to attempt to deal with the evils pro-

effect from that ascribed to it by Socialists, and to conduce to the stability of trade, instead of shaking it.” Mr. Rae, in this passage, seems to make no distinction between the business of the merchant and the shipowner with whom a certain amount of speculation is inevitable and beneficial, and the business of the mere speculator who does not so much as own a warehouse for the storing up of commodities against times of necessity, and whose gains are a positive loss to the community. Mr. Rae continues, “But unhappily an unscrupulous and fraudulent spirit too often presides over this work. Schaeffle, who is not only an eminent political economist, but has been minister of commerce to one of the greatest powers of Europe, says that when he got acquainted with the bourse, he gave up believing any longer in the economical harmonies, and declared theft to be the principle of modern European commerce.”

duced by society ; evils engendered or encouraged by erroneous legislation and controllable by Parliament. Idleness and wastefulness are evils which society can deal with only in an indirect manner. It is the work of ministers of religion, rather than the work of legislators, to deal with the question of poverty from this side. The characters of men and women are largely influenced by the circumstances and conditions of their lives. And I have faith that if Parliament does its share in ameliorating the conditions of life, religion and human nature will do the rest. It is plain that society can influence to some extent the habits of idleness or wastefulness in its members, by framing laws and encouraging popular opinions which tend to make these vices unpleasant, and to make industry and thrift both profitable and agreeable. As Mr. Herbert Spencer says in "The Sins of Legislators,"—"It should be inferred that among social causes, those initiated by legislation, operating with an average regularity, must not only change men's actions ; but, by consequence, change their natures."

## CHAPTER VII.

## EXPERIMENTS WHICH HAVE FAILED.

“A noiseless, patient spider  
 I marked where on a little promontory it stood isolated,  
 Mark’d how to explore the vacant vast surrounding,  
 It launched forth filament, filament, filament, out of itself,  
 Ever unreeling them, ever tirelessly speeding them.

“And you, O my soul, where you stand,  
 Surrounded, detached, in measureless oceans of space,  
 Ceaselessly musing, venturing, throwing, seeking the spheres  
 to connect them,  
 Till the bridge you will need be formed, till the ductile  
 anchor hold,  
 Till the gossamer thread you fling catch somewhere, O my  
 soul.”

WALT WHITMAN.

“Come, labour on :  
 Who dares stand idle on the harvest plain,  
 While all around him waves the golden grain,  
 And every servant hears the Master say,  
 ‘Go, work to-day ?’

“Come, labour on :  
 The labourers are few, the field is wide :  
 New stations must be filled, and blanks supplied :  
 From voices distant far, or near at home,

The call is, ‘Come.’”

*Hymns of Praise and Prayer*, Edited by DR. JAMES  
 MARTINEAU.

I SAW, in the window of a butcher's shop last winter, a small placard, which proclaimed good tidings to the poor of Liverpool. It was headed in bold letters—

“ WORK FOR THE UNEMPLOYED.”

It invited all who were interested, to attend a meeting in St. Chad's Schoolroom. With mingled feelings, of longing, and doubt, and expectation, I went through the driving snow—it was a bitterly cold night, as I remember—and found a sabbath schoolroom, capable of seating six hundred persons, crowded with men of the industrial class, evidently unemployed ; they were patient, brave-looking men, most of them, who had not yet had the hope crushed out of their hearts ; some, here and there were hungry-looking, or as the New Testament more definitely describes it, “a hungred ;” now and again, but at long intervals, there was a drunken-looking man ; but they all declared that they were eager to work. The clergymen of this church impressed me as being men whose hearts were compassionate—who were longing to do something to alleviate the sufferings of the poor. They had evidently pondered, long and prayerfully, this most important problem of our age ; and one of them had arrived at certain conclusions respecting it, which he wished to make widely known. Nevertheless, it was for most of us, who read the promise of the placard, a disappointing meeting. Addresses were delivered

from a platform by the resident clergymen, and by the Chaplain of Kirkdale Gaol, and by several charitable, earnest, painstaking laymen ; and notably by a working-man, who had been elected by his fellows to be secretary of a trades union. I have gone into details, concerning this particular public meeting, because the proposals made, for providing "work for the unemployed," were almost entirely the proposals made upon the occasion of similar gatherings. And as this chapter of my book professes to examine such proposals, I imagine that we could not do better than take them as they were suggested on that night. These proposals, which have for their object the finding of work, may be divided easily under two heads—proposals that require the aid of Government, and those that do not.

Of the first kind we had a remarkable example in the speech of a gentleman, who alleged that the harbour of Liverpool was not in a fit state to withstand a siege ; that the poor old battery, which stands at New Brighton, at the entrance of the river Mersey was out of date and absolutely worthless. I remember that he said, with considerable emphasis, that "it could be knocked into a cocked hat." Proceeding from this statement, he proposed that a grant from Parliament be solicited ; and that an efficient fortification be erected of modern design, fit to protect the wealth of the city from the dangers of an invading army. He proceeded to show that it would be a

benefit to the working-men of Liverpool, because it would create a demand for their labour. He also endeavoured to show that it would be wise for the nation at large to undertake the work, at that present time, because there were so many unemployed, and wages were low.

This proposal, I observed, did not awaken much enthusiasm amongst the working-men, and one of them—the trades union secretary—openly attacked the proposal, as one entailing an unnecessary expenditure of the national wealth ; he believed that if we curtailed our military expenditure, we should be more likely to improve the trade of England, than we should by increasing it.

The only advantage apparent, in the “fortification proposal,” was that, instead of giving money in doles, we should give money for work. It appeared to be a doubtful question to the audience, whether the proposed work were either requisite or expedient. But the main objection to the proposal, is an objection which applies to nearly all the proposals that have ever been made, viz. it only aims at temporary and inadequate relief.

Another proposal, labouring under the same defect, but often made at these meetings, is, that Parliament should find work, by making new roads. Another of the same class is emigration. They are all but temporary efforts. If they were adopted, a time would come when the fortifications and the roads

would be all completed, and our national debt magnified—and what then? It is not a radical cure. And emigration cannot be regarded so much as a remedy, as a foisting of our trouble upon some other country. Emigration cannot go on always. Already there is distress in America, as keen as English distress. And New Zealand is not so large a place, but it will soon begin to suffer in the same degree.

All these remedies are based upon a misconception of the nature of the problem. It is erroneously imagined that poverty is an epidemic—visiting our shores for a year or two, and then departing for a season. If this were the fact, then road-making and fortification-building might serve to tide us over the bad season. But this is not the nature of the problem. Poverty is always here ; it is chronic ; it is worse than chronic ; it is steadily increasing ; day and night creeping on, on, on—until at last, if we do not bestir ourselves, and meet it fairly and bravely, it will lay hold upon our beloved England and drain away her life's blood. This is no rhetoric. It is plain, palpable fact. Look where you will, and look broadly, and you will find that statistics prove it, beyond the possibility of question. Or, consider the following paragraph taken from the *Liverpool Daily Post*, which explains faithfully the nature of our poverty :—

“ Roughly speaking, there are in Liverpool 600,000 inhabitants—that is to say, there are about 120,000 bread-winners. Only 17,766 persons are returned as

paying income tax under Schedule D, and when a fair proportion is deducted for those who pay in Liverpool, but reside outside, about 9000 are left. Of the total, 10,072 pay on less than £400 a year. Thus 550,000 people are dependent upon incomes of less than £3 a week, and the other 50,000 on incomes greater. . . . Now I propose to deal with the people themselves. The present time is selected because public opinion is directed with considerable earnestness to the condition of the poor. Many good people believe that distress is unusually great—that, in fact, there is an epidemic poverty at the present time. Nothing could be more mischievous than this epidemic theory. It enables prosperous people to enjoy the luxury of transient compassion, and to satisfy their consciences by contributing a guinea to the poor-box. This epidemic does not exist, and what the prosperous public needs, is to realize thoroughly the extent, the severity, the perpetual danger of the endemic poverty of the English people. It is always bad. The additional intensity which it may periodically attain is but a small affair. To direct, by sensational appeals to pity, attention to exceptional distress is to do no service to the poor. What you need is to prevent, for you can never cure. The task is utterly beyond the power of man. You may get up Mansion House subscriptions ; you may start soup kitchens ; you may give coppers to beggars ; you may support the works of charity, which great churches nobly originate and

sustain ; but all you are doing is to prolong, and not to shorten, the long-drawn-out agony of want and anxiety which grinds down the lives of more than half of your fellow-countrymen. How can you few prosperous people hope to sustain hundreds of thousands of persons who are not prosperous, who are either in want, or who by a fall of snow or a trivial accident may be thrown into want ? What you are doing is to suppress and not to cure the disease. You are throwing the fever rash inwards, you are making it perhaps a little less noticeable to the casual observer, but you are assuredly making the disease more dangerous. You are preventing the beast of burden from turning and rending you in an excess of agony, and you are saving the feelings of susceptible persons who would be duly shocked if any large percentage of the population took to dying of starvation in the streets. And that is really all." \*

If this be the state of our unemployed poor, then no kind of work supplied by Government can be regarded as a solution of the problem, which is temporary, or which is of an unproductive nature, such as the "fortification proposal," suggested at the St. Chad's meeting.

But there was another proposal made, which, although startling to the audience, could not be regarded as unproductive or temporizing. The speaker

\* "Toiling Liverpool," by Mr. Hugh C. Farrie. *Daily Post Office*, Victoria Street, Liverpool.

commenced his speech by the erroneous assumption, that Englishmen were poor because England was not big enough to grow food for its inhabitants ; and he proposed that Parliament be solicited for help to enable the unemployed poor to *make land* ! He had read his Bible to some purpose, for he believed that literally the mountains might be removed and placed in the deeps of the sea. He expatiated on the permanent advantages of this scheme ; that it would create many acres of new wheat land, which would be a fruitful source of food for ever afterwards.

But the unemployed poor looked up at the speaker with no hope in their faces. The proposal seemed to them less reasonable than the former, and as soon as the speaker had ended his address it was not alluded to again. Of course the radical defect of this "land-making scheme" is the fact that lack of land is in no sense a cause of our poverty ; *one* of the causes is the land monopoly of England ; but making new land would never tend to mitigate this evil, however many miles were added to the length and breadth of the country.

At last one of the clergymen arose and made what ought to be considered as the chief proposal of the evening ; for it received most attention, subscriptions of money were paid in, to give it a fair trial, and in a limited way "work for the unemployed" was actually found. This speaker said that "what the poor wanted was work, and not charity." And forthwith the

wretched men shouted with delight, as if at last they had found a man who understood human nature, and could interpret their feelings aright. This sentence always arouses the utmost enthusiasm at meetings of the unemployed poor.

He then proceeded to show the folly of giving doles of money if work could be given. He said, "If I can give you work to do, matters will be better for you and better for me, for you will have your wages and I shall have the articles you have made." The end of the proposal was, that a shop should be opened for the sale of articles made by the unemployed; and that instead of giving doles to the poor, they should be provided with the materials required for the pursuit of their various handicrafts. Deal boards were to be purchased out of the money subscribed, and tables and step-ladders were to be manufactured which were to be sold to the public, a fair share of the profit was to be paid to the workmen, and then with the residue a fresh supply of deal boards was to be procured, and so on, for ever. It seemed to some of the unemployed, who were present at the meeting, that this scheme might procure some relief, and it was put into working order, money was subscribed with the understanding that if a profit could be subtracted, five per cent. interest should be paid; but if not, it should be considered a deed of gift to the poor; and a kind of warehouse was opened in the parish of St. Chad.

When the winter was over I went to see the treasurer, and inquired how they prospered; and I learnt with regret, though not with astonishment, that they were just about to abandon the scheme. The difficulties were insuperable. They could not sell their wares. They had been supplying women and girls with wool, which had been knit into stockings and into tam-o'-shanter bonnets; and it would seem that, although they had sold large quantities, they had more stockings and bonnets on their hands than they could sell; and until they had sold the stock of manufactured goods, it would be folly to buy more wool. They had had carpenters at work making knife-boxes and such things, but they could not sell their produce, and therefore could not go on employing carpenters. They had met with a distressed iron-moulder who had a friend who would allow him to do moulding, and he came to the warehouse offering to make cast-iron spittoons if they would sell them for him. They consented, and in a few days he appeared with a cart-load of spittoons, for which they paid him; but they did not succeed in selling any of his produce, and, of course, until these were disposed of, it would have been unreasonable to ask the moulder to do any more work.

Now, I am exceedingly anxious that my reader should resolutely grasp the cause of the failure of this benevolent enterprise. It is a fair type of all the best efforts that have yet been made in England to find

work for the unemployed. And I will ask the printer to set the explanation of the failure in italics, that it may not be easily forgotten—*we failed because we could not sell our produce.*

It is always an advantage before entering upon a good work to know exactly what are the obstacles which have to be overcome. At the beginning of my next chapter I shall refer to this cause of failure again.

The result of the St. Chad's experiment was not different from my expectation, in any way. If it had been possible for the managers to have sold their goods, there would never have been any people out of work. The capitalists and employers of labour are shrewd men, who know accurately whether or not there is a demand for articles in the stocking trade, or carpenters' trade, or the hardware trade; and as soon as there is any such demand, they open their workshop doors, and at once offer work to the unemployed. So that from the beginning of all such experiments the chances are against the managers of benevolent enterprises. It is almost certain that they will be driven to the manufacture of articles for which there is no market. They make for sale; and if they cannot sell they cannot carry on their business.

Another criticism which was advanced by a working-man at the initial stage of the proceedings of the St. Chad's enterprise ought also to be mentioned.

This man said, that no scheme for procuring work for the unemployed could be regarded as perfect unless it found profitable work for everybody. So far as he could see, the scheme was designed only to help the women and the carpenters—at the utmost, only such persons as could carry on their trade in their own houses.

“What are you going to do with me?” he exclaimed. “I am a boiler-maker, and I cannot rivet my plates in a room which is only ten feet square; and what are you going to do with my comrade here who is a builder; he cannot build a house indoors?”

It was a sound objection to the scheme, as a final solution of the problem of poverty, even if it had succeeded in paying a dividend—that it did not attempt to find work for all.

Walking one day last winter in an unfrequented street in Birkenhead, and arriving at a place where a six feet wall separated the street from a field, I heard a curious clicking sound, which so excited my curiosity that I placed my hand upon the top of the wall and glanced over into the field.

I soon discovered that I had made a mistake in placing my hand upon the wall; for the top of it had been recently smeared with pitch, as a trap for the curious, and I had fallen into it. This field, however, was another kind of workshop for unemployed men. I do not know that we can speak of it exactly as a

failure, because it did not attempt to find permanent employment, nor was there at any time the faintest hope that it might prove self-supporting. In this and similar expedients, work is purposely selected of an unprofitable kind, just because there is no difficulty in getting rid of the produce. Capitalists are not tempted to go into the same kinds of work, and so there is no competition to contend with. The men are set to the task of stone-breaking or of chopping firewood, or some such work. "Stone-breaking," says my friend, one of the overseers of West Derby Union, "brings us a loss of sixpence a ton." I have no doubt that by confining the occupation in these workshops to that of stone-breaking, the *difficulty* arising from competition *will* be avoided. At the same time, philanthropists must not imagine that they avoid competition itself, by adopting these employments as "labour tests." Indeed, if it were not for the well-known compassion of the managers of these relief societies, we might make out a case of rank cowardice against them for selecting occupations and competing with workers who do not complain, only because they are too feeble to complain, or too ignorant to understand the nature of the wrongs they suffer.

If it be wrong for philanthropic societies to enter into competition with ordinary manufacturers, and thus to reduce the wages of comparatively well-paid labourers, it is tenfold worse, when these societies enter the labour markets, to compete with the aged

man who breaks stone by the wayside on a summer's day, or with the poor girl who breaks firewood in the courts of Liverpool and whose wages, before this formidable competition began, were only eightpence a day.

This, then, is the kind of work given in the workshops for unemployed men. And we are compelled again to say that although it is possible to sell the produce of their labour in these cases, it is nevertheless no solution of the problem of poverty. The men do not earn enough to keep themselves. They are actually obliged to work all day, and then they are not enabled to eat the bread of industry ; it is supplemented by a dole. It is a costly method of relieving distress ; the amount raised by a special appeal from the mayor and spent last winter (1885-86) in Birkenhead amounted to £1078 10s. 6d. Moreover, it labours under the difficulty of being a temporary expedient. We cannot go on continually in this way ; nor will the unemployed poor submit to it always. The annual report of this society contains the following sentence : "In justice to the labouring class it should be stated that many who were well entitled to relief omitted to apply for it, and some to whom it was offered refused it, preferring to pawn everything they had."

Before passing on to a review of some experiments which have been tried in France, I ought here to summarize some of our conclusions. With regard to public works initiated by Parliament, for which grants

of the national funds are required, we have seen that they are no remedy for chronic poverty ; they do not attempt to cure the evil, but only to mitigate the effects of it. And with regard to benevolent enterprises of a kind which do not ask for Government aid, we have seen that hitherto they have failed to become self-supporting, because they have not been able to find a market for the produce of their labours ; and that if markets were suddenly to become plentiful, capitalists would increase their staff of labourers, and there would no longer be any need for the philanthropic inauguration of workshops for the unemployed.

We are thus taught the impossibility of finding a remedy in any productive enterprise which depends for its success on the sale of its products.

An attempt has been made in the Wakefield Gaol to find work for the unemployed prisoners, which has been moderately successful. They have been taught the art of mat-making and several kindred manufactures. It does not, of course, profess to be an expedient for the cure of poverty. It has, however, reduced the expenses of the gaol, and a large amount of trade has been done ; in fact, there are certain branches, in which their products have the preference all over England. It is interesting to notice that a great outcry has been made against this industry. It has been criticised as an unfair kind of competition. It has been said that if mats are to be made in gaol, where no

wages are paid, then it will be impossible to make mats in the ordinary ways of trade.

An attempt was made to show that the Wakefield Gaol was causing the ruin of some who were engaged in similar private enterprises. But it was conclusively shown that the trade did not exist in England until it was taken up by prison labour. And therefore if there has been any attempt to drive trade out of the market, it has been an attempt made on the part of some private capitalist who imagined that he would be able to substitute his own mats in the market for those sent there from the gaol at Wakefield. This supposed danger of interfering with the ordinary course of trade is, no doubt, one of the obstacles which lie in the way of finding work for the unemployed in the gaols. It is, however, not an insuperable difficulty, as I shall show in my next chapter.

I have already referred to some experiments which have been tried in France. These partake of the nature of Socialism. The most important Socialist writers have been Frenchmen, viz., St. Simon, Fourier, and Louis Blanc. The first of these, who died in 1827, was not in any sense a Communist ; he did not propose to abolish property, nor did he believe that the produce of industry should be divided equally. He contended only that the instruments of labour should be held in common. He held that the property of deceased members should fall to society, whilst society should undertake all charge and responsibility

of children. His formula concerning the reward of labour is perfect: "to each according to his capacity ; to each capacity according to its work." This, beyond doubt, is the ideal law for human action in society. The experiment was tried for a short time, but it was found worthless as a solution of the social problem. It regulated life to such an extent that it was despotic to the last degree ; and it was impossible to elect any council out of the society fit to decide the exact amount of remuneration due to the labourers.

Fourier, who died in 1837, stood even further from Communism than St. Simon ; his theory was more skilfully constructed, and contained more elements of truth than its predecessors. Many details of Fourier's scheme were wildly extravagant. The best points in it, perhaps, were the following. Society was to be divided into sections called "phalanges" of about eighteen hundred individuals ; each phalange was to occupy a large building called a phalanstere, the construction of which he very carefully described. There was to be a common system of cooking ; there were to be common rooms for amusement, and a public nursery. The men were not condemned to labour constantly at the same kind of work ; they might take up in succession various kinds of work. Each family had its own apartments, and inequality of property was permitted. Out of the total produce of the community a certain portion was laid aside, sufficient to afford the minimum of subsistence to each member of

the society. The remaining produce was to be sold and the money divided into shares as follows :—

$\frac{5}{12}$  = the share for labour.

$\frac{4}{12}$  = the share for capital.

$\frac{3}{12}$  = the share for talent.

It is a curious fact that Fourier has had more disciples in America than in France. No less than thirty-four separate attempts have been made in America to form socialist communities by the disciples of Fourier. Some of these communities existed for several years ; but most of them were abandoned after a few months. Two remarkable facts seem to have characterized all the experiments of longest duration : they owned the smallest quantities of land in proportion to their numbers ; and they were most at variance with Fourier himself, in being religious as well as socialistic institutions.

The Ohio Phalanx, having 100 members and 2200 acres, which endured for ten months, and collapsed deeply in debt, was an instance of the early failures.

The following are particulars of the experiments which approached nearest to a solution of the social problem :—

Brook Farm in Massachusetts. It had 115 members and 200 acres, and lasted for five years. This experiment was initiated by a number of Unitarian Transcendentalists, and was very successful until it adopted the principles of Fourier. According to

Emerson, Dr. Channing was the suggester of it. Amongst others who lived at Brook Farm, there were Theodore Parker, Nathaniel Hawthorne, Margaret Fuller, and George Ripley. Hopedale was another intensely religious community. This also was in Massachusetts, and was an offshoot of Universalism; it had 200 members and 500 acres, and its duration was about seventeen years. In Mr. Noye's "History of American Socialisms," the following reference is made to Hopedale, "Our judgment of it, after some study, may be summed up thus: as it came nearest to being a religious community, so it commenced earlier, lasted longer, and was more scientific and sensible than any of the other experiments of the Fourier epoch."

The "North American Phalanx" in New Jersey had 112 members and 673 acres, and endured twelve years.

I have already hinted at the general cause of the failure of these Socialistic experiments. The members seemed to have such unbounded faith in the possession of land, that they took control of large estates, and in order to purchase them they borrowed money, and so gave themselves a double burden from the outset: first they gave themselves the task of paying a large and unnecessary amount of interest upon borrowed money; and, second, they squandered their labour over an estate which was too large for them to properly cultivate. But over and beyond all this,

they had the special difficulties to contend with, which beset all new enterprises in their initial stage—the expense of outfitting, and the losses which are sure to come from want of proper experience; and then it should be remembered they were still competitors in the markets with other producers, and this fact alone made their experiment much more like a mere joint-stock enterprise of a novel kind than a complete realization of the perfect co-operation.

Louis Blanc is another famous French Socialist. He differed from the others in believing that the task of solving the problem of poverty was a task which only the State could attempt. In this matter I think he had a truer instinct than either St. Simon or Fourier. He used to say “every man has a right to employment,” and his want of employment must be supplied by the State; the State must provide work for all the labourers, and must apportion their rewards.

There were many weak points in Louis Blanc’s scheme for carrying out these principles. It was an unnecessary interference with existing conditions to say that “the State must appropriate all instruments of production.” Practically his proposal resulted in the establishment in Paris of what were called “National Workshops.” This took place in the year 1848. A body of workmen, desirous of emancipating themselves from the “tyranny of capital,” united to carry on some industry, and they received an advance of

capital from the State. There were twenty-seven of these societies started by the Government ; but only four of them lived more than a few months.

The cause of the failure of Louis Blanc's "National Workshops" was, in the first place, his extraordinary formula concerning the method by which the workmen were to be rewarded. This formula was peculiar to his system, and runs as follows : "Labour is to be exercised according to the capacity of the labourer ; remuneration is to be according to his needs." This of itself was a fatal flaw. If we consider for a moment what is meant by "the capacity to work," and then the "capacity to enjoy the produce of work"—we realize an enormous injustice in his wage-theory, which would certainly arouse enmity and discord within a single month. But if his scheme had been perfect in this respect, it would have failed, because, no matter how much State-aid was given, the enterprise was one which depended upon the sale of its productions for its ultimate independence and success. If such an experiment be inaugurated at a time when markets are overstocked, it will be impossible to sell the products ; at other times there will be no need for such workshops.

We thus see that a large number of "remedies" have been tried, and have failed in their effort to find work for the unemployed because they have been based more or less upon the principle of competition, and not upon co-operation in the broad, full sense of

the word. It has been requisite from the outset that the managers of the workshops should take their produce into the public market, and there enter into competition with other producers for the sale of their commodities. And the whole success or failure of the enterprise has depended upon the answer to the question whether this could be done or not.

## CHAPTER VIII.

## CO-OPERATIVE ESTATES : THE REMEDY.

“Tell me, sir,  
Have you cast up your state, rated your lands,  
And find it able to endure the change?”

*Two Noble Gentlemen.*

“‘Association is the watchword of the future.’ The problem of the genuine Socialist is to lay down the conditions of union and its purposes. In the past all associations had their origin in unconscious physical motives; in the future all associations will have their origin in conscious ethical motives. Here, as in many other things, the latest and most perfect development of society seems to be anticipated in its outward form by the most primitive; but the inner life of the form has changed.”—ARNOLD TOYNBEE.

“Fear God and keep His commandments; this is the whole duty of man.”—ECCLESIASTES.

HAVING realized the difficulty which has beset philanthropists who have tried to lift up the down-trodden and help the poor towards independence, let us see whether the difficulty can be openly met and overcome. Let us see if our workhouses cannot be reformed in this direction.

In the seventh chapter we glanced at the various attempts which had been made to give work to the unemployed by means of productive enterprises. Some of these did not try to enable the poor to *earn* a living ; they merely sought to give work, caring very little whether it were profitable or not. I shall not consider these efforts any further. Their aims were totally different from mine. I regard work only as a means to an end, and not as an end and aim worthy in itself. Other attempts have been made, to give work to the unemployed, in such a way as to make them independent and self-supporting. Here the end sought to be accomplished is like our own. And we found that the one difficulty which hitherto has proved insuperable is this—

*“We could not find a market for our products.”*

Now, by a judicious production, and by extending the principle of co-operation, I propose to find this market.

It is quite clear to the thoughtful reader that we cannot possibly bring together 4000 persons without requiring at least 4000 suits of garments every year.

Here, then, there is work provided at once for a certain number of Spinners and Weavers, of Tailors and Hatters, of Milliners, Dressmakers, Stocking-knitters and Shoemakers, Tanners of Leather, etc.

We cannot bring together 4000 persons without requiring 365 Breakfasts, and Dinners, and Teas, and

Suppers for them every year. Here, then, is work provided for Cooks and Kitchen-maids, for Farmers and Gardeners, for Milk-maids and Dairy-maids, and Bakers and Preservers of Fruit, and—within certain definite limits—we shall have no difficulty whatever in disposing of our produce.

In short, we must constitute our own market ; we must co-operate, not only to produce and distribute, but we must co-operate also to consume our products. We must lift co-operation out of the rut of selling groceries and of being a joint-stock company, and must enter upon the era of a complete co-operation. It ought to be observed, too, that such a market as I have described will always be a very convenient one ; since it will always be close to the place of production, and the produce will not be encumbered by railway rates for carriage. In other words, we must grow our own wheat and oats, and potatoes and fruit ; we must raise our own cattle, grow our own flax, spin and weave our own wool and linen, and grind our own corn. And I believe that, having such diversity of occupations, we shall always be able to occupy a man out of employment at the particular work he can do best.

Four thousand persons, thus living together, upon a co-operative estate (no longer to be called by the name of workhouse) will not have an *unlimited* market. That is quite true. But they will have as large a market as they have any right to. They

cannot have a larger share of the world's market than that which they themselves constitute, without depriving some other community of its market. It seems to me that the justice of this proposition has not been clearly realized hitherto.

Of course exchanges will be necessary sometimes ; and they will be exchanges of two kinds : first, exchanges between the co-operative estates of various unions ; and second, exchanges of a limited kind between the co-operative estates and the world at large. The co-operative estates will exchange with each other ; for example, coals from the Wigan Union will be exchanged for wheat from Liverpool and Birmingham Unions. The Unions of the pottery districts will be glad to exchange their products for such foods as do not easily grow in their own localities. If in such cases as these there is any element of competition possible—it is one which will not affect the world outside : but the co-operative estates must do (for their own sakes) all that is possible to place it under proper restraints. I imagine that there will be no difficulty in doing this when the scheme is tested. If the co-operative estates thus produce for themselves and consume their own products, we shall have almost overcome another obstacle which has previously stood in the way of self-supporting enterprises of this kind, viz. the obstacle raised by the manufacturer and tradespeople of the towns, who have thus far entered a complaint against the managers of workhouses and

prisons, when they have produced articles intended for sale in the general markets of the world. If the scheme be adopted on the lines I have laid down, it will be found that the co-operative estates have conferred a benefit upon the ordinary tradesman and manufacturer, inasmuch as they save him from the poor's rate, and from the endless succession of charitable persons collecting subscriptions, and of destitute people who pass by his gates hanging down their heads, or who come across his garden begging for alms. We must now see to it, that this benefit is conferred upon the tradesman or manufacturer, without increasing the supply of goods sent to the general markets, which are already overstocked.

*Not a single commodity must be sent out of the co-operative estates into the general market, which is at present sent there by English producers or English manufacturers. There must be no competition between English producers and the co-operative estates.*

But if it is found that we are able to send into the English markets commodities which are now imported from abroad, we shall confer a benefit upon the whole country; because no man will buy our wheat, or our eggs, or our poultry, unless they are offered at a lower price than those which come from Holland, or France, or California. It would be an obvious folly to attempt to protect the trades of foreign countries against "competition" from the English co-operative estates.

I do not think that much advantage would be taken of this privilege of sending commodities into the market which are generally imported from abroad. I imagine we should find enough to do, of a more profitable kind without this. But I wish the English producer or manufacturer to see that if this were granted (as he is a buyer of these things and not a producer) it would do him no harm, but good ; and that it would make English life pleasanter both within the co-operative estates and without. If we did not sell something of our produce, we should not be able to purchase articles of foreign growth ; we should not be able to purchase, for example, tea, coffee, petroleum, and oranges, if we were not permitted first to sell some of our poultry. With these exceptions we should not need to have exchanges, and should be self-contained communities for the relief of the unemployed. We need not begin to sell shoes or woven goods, or anything of ordinary English manufacture ; we need sell nothing but wheat (which is rapidly going out of cultivation in England), and fresh eggs (which cannot be obtained for love or money in most of our large towns), and poultry (which are imported from France in large numbers). It may, however, be worth while to give a more extended list of our imports,\* which, in 1883, were as follows :—

\* This table is copied from "Distribution Reform," by Mr. Illingworth.

				£
Butter and Butterine ...	...	...	...	11,773,933
Cheese ...	...	...	...	4,890,500
Eggs ...	...	...	...	2,732,055
Potatoes ...	...	...	...	1,585,260
Fish ...	...	...	...	2,301,966
Oxen ...	...	...	...	9,332,242
Sheep ...	...	...	...	2,518,382
Beef ...	...	...	...	2,894,397
Bacon and Ham	...	...	...	10,036,326
Pork ...	...	...	...	761,871
Lard ...	...	...	...	2,247,016
Corn—Wheat ...	...	...	...	31,454,481
,, Barley ...	...	...	...	5,741,795
,, Oats ...	...	...	...	5,010,293
,, Maize ...	...	...	...	10,370,074
,, Other kinds ...	...	...	...	2,207,397
,, Flour—Of Wheat	...	...	...	12,344,778
,,     ,, Other kinds	...	...	...	493,549

£118,696,315

Having fairly met this initial difficulty of finding a market for our produce, let me turn to the question which stands next in importance—the question which is concerned with the financial cost of the reform. And I have now to assert what will no doubt astonish the reader, that, by spending upon every poor-law union a sum equal to two years' poor-law expenditure, these establishments can be made self-supporting for ever. A workhouse having an average of four thousand paupers—indoor and outdoor—costs, roughly speaking, £100,000 per annum. I propose that provision be made for double this number, *i.e.* that one year's

expenditure be given for the purpose of making existing workhouses into co-operative estates ; and a sum equal to a second year's rates, for the help of those who are already crowded out in the race of life, but who do not receive parish relief,—who are helped by doles out of the charity organizations. Leaving, for the present, this proposed expenditure of the second years' rate, let me now confine my reader's attention to the reform of the workhouses which already exist, and the expenditure of only the first year's poor's rate for this end. I am, at this point, compelled to ask my reader to accept a statement of fact from me ; which, however, I shall be able to substantially prove, before we have ended our intercourse. The statement is this : that two thousand acres of moderately good land can be so utilized that it will easily feed and clothe four thousand persons. For the moment I ask my reader to accept this statement. And now—

	£
2000 acres of agricultural land, at £30 an acre, would cost     ...     ...     ...     ...     ...	60,000
The estate would require to be stocked with 500 cows, which would cost, at £20 each     ...	10,000
And 80 sows for the piggery, which, at £6 each, would cost     ...     ...     ...     ...	480
Seeds, plants, and fruit trees     ...     ...     ...     ...	2,000
Machinery and tools     ...     ...     ...     ...	5,720
Iron and timber     ...     ...     ...     ...	1,400
Poultry (4000 head)     ...     ...     ...     ...	400
	<hr/>
	£80,000

We have thus spent £80,000, and have £20,000 left for contingencies. I have purposely left out sheep in this estimate, and have added, by way of compensation, to the stock of cows and pigs, in order to simplify the outline. Wool is very largely an imported article with us at present.

And now I turn to the question, whether or not an estate of this kind—with such workers as we should get—would be self-supporting. I believe it would be more than self-supporting. My belief is based upon the fact that adult paupers are fed and housed and clothed in the Liverpool parish workhouse at three shillings and three-halfpence a week; whilst all the children up to the age of sixteen years are maintained and clad at a cost of two shillings and sevenpence. Now the greatest dunce who ever lived, if he were not an imbecile, might be enabled to earn three shillings and three-halfpence in a week. In the cotton-weaving districts of Lancashire, little children ten years old, going to school half-time, are actually earning two shillings and sixpence a week in the cotton mills to-day. It is, therefore, reasonable to suppose that the unemployed adult men and women of England would be able to earn the necessaries of life, on such an estate as I have described, quite easily, and to make the estate self-supporting.\*

\* Mr. Arnold Toynbee gives the following on p. 140 in his "Industrial Revolution," which confirms the statement that three

Nay, if agriculture were untrammelled, it would be the most productive and profitable of all occupations. And it will be untrammelled on the co-operative estate. It cannot fail to be self-supporting ; and to furnish all who labour within its boundaries with the best food and the most serviceable clothing which can be procured in the country.

Consider the productiveness of nature ! consider the beneficence, the plenteousness, with which our care is rewarded, when we take nature for our friend ! We go to an acre of land, and we sow it with one or with one and a half bushels of wheat, according as we are careful or not in our sowing. And within twelve months we are repaid for our trouble with a crop varying from twenty-five bushels up to fifty bushels, according to our diligence and care. No man need be short of bread in such a world as this, and under

shillings a week may be spent in such a manner as to supply one person with the necessaries of life :—

“WEEKLY EXPENSES OF A FARM LABOURER WITH WIFE AND THREE CHILDREN.”

	s. d.
9 quarten loaves	...
1½ lb. meat and bacon	...
1 lb. cheese	...
½ lb. butter	...
2 oz. tea	...
1 lb. sugar	...
½ lb. soap	...
½ lb. candles	...
Coals and firing	...
Rent	...
Clothes and sundries	...
	<hr/>
	14 9½

such a dispensation. Farmers everywhere say the same thing on this point ; all that is required to make the earth yield more abundantly, is that we bestow more labour upon it. Glance for a moment at the nature of the pig, from which must come our supply of pork and bacon. The sow goes sixteen weeks with her young before she is delivered. She has, on the average, ten at a birth. She then feeds them with her milk for seven weeks. Three days after the weaning she will want the boar. Then in sixteen weeks there will be another litter of ten pigs. That is to say, every sow kept for breeding purposes in our piggery will yield every twenty-four weeks a litter of ten pigs each.

My belief that the estate would be self-supporting, after it were once inaugurated, rests—first, upon the fact of the low cost of maintenance and necessaries required to keep an adult at present in our parish workhouse—that is to say, he need only earn three shillings and three-halfpence a week to feed and clothe himself ; and, second, on a consideration of the productiveness of nature. And now, there is a third reason for this belief, viz. the fact that we should be able to make the most of every labourer who came to us ; that, instead of selecting some absurd employment like stone-breaking or oakum-picking, and compelling carpenters and blacksmiths and weavers to do it, we should have profitable occupations of every kind and for everybody, except such persons as middlemen,

stockbrokers, money-lenders, and soldiers, who, for the most part, are too rich to require any of our help. Nay, these would be our worst cases, if they came. We should be compelled to ask them to learn some useful trade, and meantime should have to class them with the dolts who cannot be better employed than in the feeding and cleansing of swine, or the commonest labouring occupations.

And now I proceed to say that, under a co-operative system where none but useful toil were done, and no man were idle, four hours' work a day would be more than enough to provide the necessaries of a comfortable life.

In making this estimate I have allowed for the increased productiveness of each man's labour due to the employment of modern machinery, the power-loom increasing the effectiveness of the weaver's work thirty-fold, and the threshing machine increasing that of the farmer forty-fold. In Sir Thomas More's "Utopia," he says that for the inhabitants of that country, six hours a day are appointed for work : " But the time appointed for labour is to be narrowly examined, otherwise you may imagine that since there are only six hours appointed for work, they may fall under a scarcity of necessary provisions. But it is so far from being true (that this time is not sufficient for supplying them with plenty of all things, either necessary or convenient) that it is rather too much ; and this you will easily apprehend if you consider how great a part

of all other nations is quite idle. First, women generally do little, who are the half of mankind, and if some few women are diligent, their husbands are idle ; then consider the great company of idle priests, and of those that are called religious men ; add to these all rich men, chiefly those that have estates in land, who are called noblemen and gentlemen, together with their families, made up of idle persons, that are kept more for show than use ; add to these, all those strong and lusty beggars, that go about pretending some disease, in excuse for their begging ; and upon the whole account you will find that the number of those by whose labours mankind is supplied, is much less than you perhaps imagined. Then consider how few of those that work are employed in labours that are of real service ; for we who measure all things by money, give rise to many trades that are both vain and superfluous, and serve only to support riot and luxury. For if those who work were employed only in such things as the conveniences of life require, there would be such an abundance of them, that the prices of them would so sink, that tradesmen could not be maintained by their gains ; if all those who labour about useless things, were set to more profitable employments and if all they that languish out their lives in sloth and idleness, every one of whom consumes as much as any two of the men that are at work, were forced to labour, you may easily imagine that a small proportion of time would serve for doing all that is

either necessary, profitable, or pleasant to mankind, especially while pleasure is kept within its due bounds."

Sir Thomas More's calculation was made at a time when there were very few labour-saving machines such as we now have. In his days the harvest was gathered by the human hand, with no better tool than a sickle ; now we have reaping machines by which a man may do the work of ten such men as lived in the days of Sir Thomas More. In the old days the farmer sent two or three men into the barn immediately after the harvest, and kept them there hard at work for six or seven months threshing out the grain with flails ; but now the same number of men, with improved machinery, will accomplish the task in a few days.\*

\* In the *Times* newspaper of Sept. 13, 1886, the following instructive passage occurs :—

"The impression that comparatively little use has been made of reaping machinery during the present harvest because of the storm-broken condition of the heaviest crops, and again, because of the abundance of manual labour available, is erroneous. Instances of great expedition in work by many farmers have come to hand. Referring to the sheaf-binding reaper of Hornsby, of Grantham, one user writes : 'We cut 200 acres with the same six horses, and only the carter and one boy in the field. I consider we have saved 25 per cent. in comparison with the ordinary self-delivery reaper, considering despatch.' Another says, 'The binder saved the labour of five men on 180 acres of corn. We saved the price of the machine in being able to cart much quicker and before the rain came.' Mr. Henry Overman, of Weasenham, Swaffham, Norfolk, has worked three sheaf-binders of Howard, of Bedford, with which he cut 224 acres of wheat, averaging 15 acres per day to each machine ;

When I say that four hours' work per day would be enough if every healthy man and woman were steadily employed, I do not err on the side of appointing too short a time for this purpose. We have data from another source which confirms my calculation. This data is as follows. At the present time all our markets are overstocked in England ; they are overstocked in spite of the fact that only one-third of the population is employed in necessary productive enterprise. On the average, those who work productively are working nine hours a day. The conclusion therefore is obvious, that if we had no rich people and no destitute people, if everybody in England were obliged to take part in productive enterprise, there would only be work to occupy the workers for three hours a day.

It has often been asserted that men will not work so hard under a co-operative system as they did under a competitive system.

This may be true or not: no one can speak with certainty on the point. I imagine that their work will be better done, even if they do not work so desperately ; and good work takes a longer time than bad work. For this reason I have estimated four and one of the machines cut in one field of 55 acres at the rate of 18 acres per day. Referring to the sheaf-binder of Walter A. Wood, of Worship Street, an Essex farmer says, ' We cut with it 17 acres of oats in 14 hours, and 17 acres of barley in 15 hours. It will save £100 for wages of labour this year, as I have over 300 acres of cutting.' "

hours' work a day, and not three hours, as the normal day's labour within the co-operative estates.

Having finished his four hours' work, and earned his daily food and necessaries ; the workman shall next do an additional hour's work towards the maintenance of the sick and the aged. In this way he will insure his life against old age. At sixty years of age he will be independent ; he will have earned the right to be maintained upon any of the estates in England, if he has served thirty years previously.

I see no difficulty in a workman's having the liberty to leave a union after a few years' service, and going elsewhere if he wishes to do so. All that would be required would be some kind of document, endorsed by the secretary of the union like this—

This Document certifies that

EDWARD HARRISON

(of light complexion, grey eyes, and about 5 feet 9 inches in height) has served towards his Insurance three years in the BATH CO-OPERATIVE ESTATES.

(*Signed*) JOHN SMITH, *Secretary at Bath.*

And ten years in the NEWCASTLE CO-OPERATIVE ESTATES.

(*Signed*) JAMES GREEN, *Secretary at Newcastle.*

And seventeen years in the LEICESTER CO-OPERATIVE ESTATES.

(*Signed*) WILLIAM GRAHAM, *Secretary at Leicester.*

If at the end of this period the workman desired to live on the Southport co-operative estate, near his sons and daughters, there would again be no difficulty in complying with the old man's wish. He could go to Southport, and if it happened that his life were spared for another fifteen years, then the total cost of

his maintenance during this time would be assessed as follows :—

$\frac{3}{10}$	of the total costs of the estates at Bath.
$\frac{10}{30}$	" " " " Newcastle.
$\frac{17}{30}$	" " " " Leicester.

To be paid over to the estates at Southport. In this way a preparation for old age would be effected.

Concerning sickness I would make no rule except that wherever an afflicted workman happened to be, no matter whether an old servant or a stranger, he should have all possible care bestowed upon him. Let this be freely given ; a workman's sickness being his best claim. And let it be definitely understood that the first hour's work done on Monday morning, is work for the maintenance and to pay for the cure of the sick folk upon the estate. And let the workmen of all creeds gather together at the beginning of that day and thank God for health and strength in some hymn of praise ; let them pray for the recovery of the sick ; and then go forth to that blessed hour's work ; and I need be no prophet to foretell that no healthy man or woman or child will stay indoors when the bell is rung which summons them to that service of praise and song and labour.

Thus far, we have made provision in the day's work for maintenance and necessaries which will require four hours' work from all capable persons ; and for old age and sickness which will require another hour's work.

We have next to make a provision for the good government of the estates, and I propose to add another hour to the day's labour for this purpose, and then we shall have done. This will make a total of six hours' work a day, required of every able-bodied worker on the estate.

In this way one-sixth of our total earnings will be devoted to the encouragement of good managers, heads of departments, foremen, etc. This is a most important consideration, and we shall do well to guard ourselves against the mistakes of former co-operators, by fixing definitely some proportionate sum which is likely to attract wise and capable men to control the affairs of each estate. Frequently working-men have under-rated the value of a skilful manager ; and have brought down failures upon their co-operative enterprises through the acceptance of the services of an inefficient person at a low salary.

If the reader will turn to the "Annual Local Taxation Returns" for England, which are published by Messrs. Henry Hansard and Sons, and open the book at the poor rate returns, he will find opposite the names of the unions, a column which gives the "total relief to the poor" spent in each workhouse, and, in the next column but one, he will find a statement of the "Salaries and rations of officers," including the sums repaid by Her Majesty's Treasury, and superannuations. Now, if he will take the trouble to ascertain the proportions between the latter amounts and the

former, he will find that they vary in different unions; that in the unions where the officers are worst paid the "salaries, etc., " amount to one-seventeenth of the total expenditure on account of the poor, and that in the unions where the officers are best paid, the "salaries, etc., " amount to one-sixth of the total expenditure.

The following are approximate proportions of the poor-law relief spent in officers' salaries, etc., selected at random in different parts of England:—

St. Marylebone (Metropolis) ... ... ...	$\frac{1}{10}$	Stow-in-the-Wold, Gloucestershire ... ... ...	$\frac{1}{10}$
Islington (Metropolis) ...	$\frac{1}{10}$	Cheltenham, Gloucestershire ... ... ...	$\frac{1}{8}$
St. Giles and St. George (Metropolis) ... ...	$\frac{1}{11}$	Ludlow, Salop (nearly) ...	$\frac{1}{4}$
Aylesbury, Buckinghamshire ... (nearly)	$\frac{1}{7}$	Clun, " ...	$\frac{1}{5}$
Northampton ... ...	$\frac{1}{10}$	Atcham, " ...	$\frac{1}{5}$
Depwade, Norfolk ...	$\frac{1}{9}$	Wem, " ...	$\frac{1}{4}$
King's Lynn, Norfolk ...	$\frac{1}{6}$	Newport, " ...	$\frac{1}{9}$
Highworth and Swindon, Wiltshire ... ...	$\frac{1}{7}$	Dudley, Staffordshire ...	$\frac{1}{13}$
Cricklade and Wootton Bassett, Wiltshire ...	$\frac{1}{8}$	Stockport, Cheshire ...	$\frac{1}{8}$
Amesbury, Wiltshire ...	$\frac{1}{5}$	Altrincham, " ...	$\frac{1}{7}$
Shaftesbury, Dorset ...	$\frac{1}{8}$	Northwich, " ...	$\frac{1}{10}$
Blandford, " ...	$\frac{1}{7}$	Hawarden, " (nearly) ...	$\frac{1}{5}$
Axminster, Devonshire ...	$\frac{1}{7}$	Liverpool, Lancashire ...	$\frac{1}{6}$
Plymouth, " ...	$\frac{1}{11}$	West Derby, " ...	$\frac{1}{10}$
Barnstaple, " ...	$\frac{1}{10}$	Haslingden, " ...	$\frac{1}{8}$
Camelford, Cornwall ...	$\frac{1}{10}$	Lunesdale, " ...	$\frac{1}{4}$
Bodmin, " ...	$\frac{1}{8}$	Newcastle, Northumberland ...	$\frac{1}{7}$
Truro, " ...	$\frac{1}{10}$	Tynemouth, Northumberland ...	$\frac{1}{10}$
Penzance, " ...	$\frac{1}{10}$	Abergavenny, Wales ...	$\frac{1}{6}$
Barton Regis, Gloucestershire ...	$\frac{1}{13}$	Cardiff, " ...	$\frac{1}{9}$
		Carmarthen, " ...	$\frac{1}{17}$

I ought, perhaps, to say that I have worked out the above proportions from the returns for the year ending Lady Day, 1882, which is the latest Blue-book in my possession.

It will thus be seen that if we allow one-sixth of the earnings in the co-operative estates to be devoted to good government, we shall be paying better salaries than are paid at present, and may hope to secure as efficient a management as that which the Board of Guardians has been able to secure for itself.

And now I want to say a word about the franchise. At present those who go into the work-house are disfranchised. It is a mark of degradation imposed upon those who are not able to maintain themselves.

If the co-operative estates became self-supporting, I see no reason why the franchise should not be extended at once, to all such estates; but the vote should be permitted on the condition that out of every estate a volunteer regiment of soldiers for defensive war be raised, equal to at least one-eighth of the population within its boundaries.

In this way we should secure a force of well-trained soldiers, deeply interested in the prosperity of the country, and every community interested, too, in the number of men under drill. We should, moreover, reduce the necessity for such lavish military expenditure on our standing army, as that which we have witnessed in past years. And if our army was

mainly an army of men pledged to defensive war only, we should be saved from the dangers and temptations of a meddlesome foreign policy ; and in the event of an invasion we should be as difficult a foe to conquer as I can imagine. Nothing makes a soldier so brave as a love of his fatherland, and nothing awakens this love so much as the general well-being of the people, and the personal feeling of "having a stake in the country."

I am very anxious to live the Christian life and am a subscribing and active member of the Peace Society ; but under such circumstances as I have named, I would buy myself a sword, and learn to use it, in defence of my country, and for the sake of being enfranchised. And I do not doubt that almost every man who had his wants provided for, and who had leisure to devote to the work, would do quite as much for the defence of his country, although, as the years pass, we shall find that fewer and still fewer are willing to fight for the *extension* of our dominions.

It may occur to some persons that a serious difficulty lies in the way of securing an estate near to the workhouses in large towns. There are two ways of meeting this difficulty ; it may be met by providing a number of conveyances and horses to take the workers to and fro (fifty omnibuses would carry fifteen hundred persons), and by gradually building new houses on the estate as unemployed builders came in search of work ; or it may be met by a sale of the land

upon which these workhouses now stand,—land for the most part of enormous value, and by re-building homes on the estates in the country. But the whole of this difficulty vanishes when we reflect upon the fact, that working-men out of employment and destitute are quite willing to migrate a distance of fifty miles to any part of England, when it is definitely certain that wholesome work is to be had at the end of the journey. If the State provides honest work—or, let us put it this way, if the State withdraws the hindrances to honest work which now exist, the working-men of England will walk, or creep, or crawl, to the favoured place without any assistance from the State. They are tramping the country to-day from John O'Groat's to Land's End, and back again—they and their families; they are wandering to and fro in search of work, although the hope is well-nigh crushed out of their hearts, and the anguish of despair is in their eyes. This difficulty, then, is one which we may leave the workmen to contend with, if we find it impossible to open “co-operative estates,” at the outset, in some localities, owing to the price of land.

And now let me briefly summarize the main features of the remedy.

1. We must persuade our Parliament and our poor-law administrators of the folly of giving doles to the destitute; we must then ask Parliament to change the basis of the poor-law; instead of saying, as hitherto, that the duty of the State towards the poor

is to find the necessities of life for all who need them, we must say that it is the duty of the State to provide the poor with an opportunity of earning these things ; which is the same as saying that the true motto for a well-governed State ought to be—"co-operation in the produce of the necessities of life, and competition in the produce of its luxuries."

2. An Act of Parliament must be obtained which will enable poor-law unions to collect a sum equal to the present expenditure on account of the poor for two years. The Act may be either compulsory or permissive ; the experiment would be most satisfactory if it were compulsory.

3. This sum shall be used to abolish all State dole-giving, and to enable the unemployed workmen to earn an honest, independent livelihood. A tract of land shall be purchased in, or near to every poor-law union, equal in acreage to one-half the average unemployed population of the union, and it shall be stocked with cattle, and seed, and machines, to enable the inmates to earn their own food, and clothing, and shelter. As far as possible competition shall be abolished within the walls of this estate.

4. That to those who thus earn their living, the utmost freedom be given, after the working hours, to earn such luxuries or conveniences, as are not included amongst the "necessaries of life." That they be enfranchised and regarded as independent, if they themselves show any willingness to serve the country

by organizing volunteer regiments, or by contributing in any way towards the expense of governing the country.

5. That the managers of the "co-operative estates" be instructed to encourage the workmen to make their homes and work-places as healthful, convenient, and beautiful as possible ; all plans for this purpose to be first submitted to him for approval whose judgment as to the advisability of these improvements, particularly of any alteration of premises, shall be final.

6. That for all work done under the control of the "co-operative estates," no money shall be paid. That for the work done, a home shall be found ; good meals provided ; and serviceable clothing, in which a liberal choice of design and material be afforded to the workers, instead of the uniform ugliness which accompanies the present system.

7. That for these things and for insurance and wise government a period of not more than six hours' labour a day shall be exacted so as to leave the workers free to earn anything else, in the ordinary ways of trade and production, which they may desire ; it being the theory in all civilized countries that the State shall supply to those who are in need, food, and clothing, and shelter.

8. That so far as possible unemployed workmen shall be put to the work they can best do ; and that the custom of supplying stone-breaking and oakum-

picking for the mere sake of finding work be abolished in England, as an expedient unworthy of the age in which we live. That all who are able, and who have not worked out the insurance period, shall work every day so long as they remain within the walls of the estate, and partake of its benefits.

9. That within the walls of "the co-operative estates," we shall endeavour to cultivate able and tender men, and brave and independent women ; and not to accumulate wealth.

## CHAPTER IX.

## SOME DETAILS OF THE REMEDY.

“Wake, awake, for night is flying,  
The watchmen on the heights are crying,  
Awake Jerusalem at last!  
Midnight hears the welcome voices,  
And at the thrilling cry rejoices,  
Come forth, ye virgins, night is past.”  
PHILIP NICOLAI, 1598, from *Lyra Germanica*.

THE Rev. Charles William Stubbs, M.A., Vicar of Stokenham, has written a book, “The Land and the Labourers,” which is a record of facts and experiments in cottage farming. The object of the author is to show the advantages of small holdings of land, as compared with large holdings. He may fairly be said to have established his three contributory propositions, which are—“First, that the possession of a small holding of land adds very largely to the annual income of the rural labourer”—a class of workmen who, even after Mr. Arch’s noble and persistent effort, are only receiving fifteen shillings a week, when they are in work; a large number of them, however, are out of work. “Secondly, that small proprietorship, or even tenancy of soil, exercises a very beneficial influence

upon the moral character of the agricultural labourer. And, thirdly, that the system of small holdings is worthy of extension for national reasons, as tending to restore that lost *balance of property* in the soil, which is so necessary a factor in the civil policy of any soundly constituted State."

It seems to me, that these three points are incontrovertible. But the chief interest of his book lies in the fact that Mr. Stubbs has actually tried the experiment he wishes to see universally tried ; and he furnishes an exact statement of the economic results of small husbandry, which are extremely valuable, because they are results obtained during recent years. They constitute a most effective reply to the many lugubrious authors who have endeavoured to stifle inquiry into the possibilities of agriculture, by saying that the English climate has deteriorated so much of late years, that nothing can be grown which will repay the toil of the husbandman. Let me, however, premiss one thing : that I see no reason, *per se*, why large holdings may not bring forth results as satisfactory as those of small holdings. All that is required is, that the more extensive plot shall be as faithfully tended as the little plot ; in other words, to bring the labour and the land together again, no matter whether by means of large or small allotments.

"At the close of the year 1873,"\* says our author,

\* "The Land and the Labourers," by Charles William Stubbs, M.A. Swan, Sonnenschein, & Co.

" I divided a portion of my glebe land (22 acres) into half-acre allotments among my labouring parishioners, at an annual rental of 66s. an acre. I have retained two lots ; that is to say, an acre of this ground, in my own hands. I have worked it on exactly the same method of husbandry as that of the remaining allotments. That is to say, being heavy clay land, not over well drained, but sloping, for the most part, to the south and west, the kind of crops we grow are wheat, beans, oats, potatoes, mangold wurzel, carrots, garden vegetables, and so forth. Now, being interested in collecting what facts I could as to the results to be gained from small as opposed to large culture, I have kept accurate accounts during some years of the outgoings and incomings on my one-acre farm, and what has been the result? In the last six years of agricultural depression, my net profit on the acre, after allowing fully for rent and taxes, seed, labour, and manure, has been £3 8s.

" Let me give, in a tabulated form, an abstract of my balance-sheets from 1878-1883—

Year.	Outgoings.			Incomings.			Net Profit.		
	£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.
1878	10	0	6	16	6	0	6	5	6
1879	13	18	6	15	1	0	1	2	6
1880	11	18	3	15	6	6	3	8	3
1881	12	7	5	16	1	0	3	13	7
1882	12	3	4	13	15	0	1	11	8
1883	12	13	4	17	4	6	4	11	2
	73	1	4	93	14	0	20	12	8

Average annual capital employed per acre (outgoings)	£	s.	d.
... ... ... ...	12	3	6½
Average annual incomings...	15	12	4
Average net profit, or something like 28 per cent. on the capital invested	3	8	9½

“ It may be perhaps useful to give the full balance-sheet for a fairly typical year. Here is the balance-sheet for 1881—

OUTGOINGS.

	£	s.	d.
Wages of labour ...	6	7	9
Seed, etc. ...	1	3	8
Manure ...	1	10	0
Rent and taxes ...	3	6	0
	<hr/>		
	£	12	7 5

INCOMINGS.

	£	s.	d.
Wheat, 5 sacks ...	5	0	0
Potatoes, 55 bushels at 2s. ...	5	10	0
Twelve bushels damaged potatoes, sold for pigs ...	0	6	0
Wurzels, 30 cwt. ; carrots, 3 cwt. ...	1	15	0
Beans, 5 bushels ...	1	0	0
Straw (one ton) ...	2	10	0
	<hr/>		
Outgoings	16	1	0
	<hr/>		
Net profit per acre	£3	13	7

These facts are sufficiently encouraging; but, on our co-operative workhouse land, we might expect even better returns.

Two important items in the “outgoings,” the

reader will notice, are “manure” and “rent and taxes.” The first item we should dispense with altogether, because we should have the excrement of the farm and of four thousand persons, which would be sufficient to keep the land in an excellently fruitful condition. One of the causes of the failure of English agriculture is the fact that the produce of the land is carried away and consumed in large cities, and the dung of the cities is cast into the rivers. This is a wilful waste ; it robs the land of its fertility, the citizens of health, the river of its beauty and of its divine teachings for those who wander on its banks. London is now spending a sum of between two and three millions (in addition to its enormous expenditure in the past) to throw away its manures—the food of plants—further into the sea. The co-operative work-house would never dream of such waste. Its direct interest in the fruitfulness of the earth, would make such extravagance impossible. Our cattle, moreover, would be stall-fed ; and this would check another source of waste. Professor Rau, of Heidelberg, in his work on agriculture and the social position of the peasantry, says, “As the cows are not generally fed in the meadows, but in the sheds, none of their dung is lost. The bedding of the cattle generally lies under them for two days, but not longer. It is then carried out to the dung-heap, and, after lying there about six weeks, is carried out upon the land.”

The second item to which I would direct my reader's attention in Mr. Stubbs's balance-sheet, is "rent and taxes." If the land were purchased by the poor-law union, as I have suggested, there would be no rent to pay. If all our paupers were transformed into self-supporting working-men, I imagine that our "taxes" would be very much reduced. Certainly we should have no poor rate. There would, as certainly, be fewer criminals to keep in our prisons. Already our hospitals for the sick are supported by voluntary gifts; and, so long as that is so, it would be an obvious folly to levy a tax for this purpose. I do not know, therefore, whether we should be expected to pay taxes or not. It would be a nice point for members of Parliament to decide whether or not those for whose support taxes were once collected, should now be made to pay taxes. It will be a happy day for England when this subject is debated in the House of Commons. And yet one day, and before many years are past, it will be discussed! At present I leave it, as a subject for future consideration; resting, however, upon this—that at the outset farming operations in the co-operative estates will be conducted under exceptionally favourable conditions: we shall be free from two of the burdens which are mentioned in Mr. Stubbs's list of outgoings, viz. the purchase of "manure" and the item for "rent and taxes."

Let me again quote data from Mr. Stubbs's book: "There is a fact that is worth attention in the above

balance-sheet. It will be observed that the produce of wheat upon the half-acre was five sacks, that is to say, at the rate of 40 bushels, or five quarters to the acre. On the page of the account book from which the balance-sheet is copied, I observe that I have made the following notes : In this year, John Norman grew nine quarters of oats on his allotment (one acre) ; and William Tompkins, having a dispute with a farmer as to the likelihood of yield of wheat on his allotment, agreed to give the farmer everything over seven quarters that was thrashed out. On measuring at harvest he had to pay the farmer one bushel of wheat. In other words his yield of wheat from one acre was 57 bushels." It will be interesting, I think, to compare these figure with one or two well-known standard results. I will give them in a tabulated form—

PRODUCE OF WHEAT PER STATUTE ACRE IN  
BUSHELS.

Farmers' average in Granborough	...	...	25
English average	...	...	26
French average	...	...	13
American maximum	...	...	19
Mr. Lawes's (high scientific farming) average	...	...	36
Allotment average in Granborough	...	...	40
Mr. Lawes's maximum	...	...	55
Allotment maximum (W. Tompkins)	...	...	57
English maximum	...	...	60

Mr. Stubbs now proceeds to explain the agricultural depression of the last few years ; and I think

displays great wisdom and discernment in his conclusions—

“ The contrast in point of yield between their own allotments and their masters' fields does not fail, of course, to strike the men. There is a field in this parish which was held some time ago by a farmer at a rental of 11*s.* an acre. He gave it up because he could do nothing with it. ‘ It was,’ as he said, ‘ completely wore out.’ For this field the labourers now give £4 an acre. But they think they do badly if they do not get the allotment average given above, of 40 bushels of wheat to the acre, whilst the farmer is satisfied with 25 bushels at most. When one remembers, too, that in very many cases the rent given by the farmer is little more than half that given by the labourer, can we be surprised that the labourer and the farmer differ very widely as to the true cause of the agricultural depression of the last few years? And this leads me to the first deduction which I venture to draw from the foregoing facts. It is this. That one chief and much overlooked element in the agricultural depression of the last few years has been *the labour-starving of the land* on the part of the farmers.”

And now, having realized the productiveness of English land to-day, when it is not hindered for lack of labour, let us consider the quantity of food consumed by men and women. For two years past I have purchased flour for my own household by the sack (280 lb.); and I find that to keep myself, my

wife, a domestic servant, a stout active boy of eleven years, and a baby of eighteen months, it has required a little less than four sacks per annum. We use white bread, more or less, at every meal, breakfast, dinner, tea, and supper; we have not used meal porridge more than half-a-dozen times during the year. And I conclude, from this, that as ordinary English people live to-day, one sack of flour will suffice to keep one person for a year. One acre of land, therefore, will grow sufficient wheat to keep seven men in bread for twelve months. We should have 40 bushels of wheat per acre, which the miller would convert into 28 bushels, or seven sacks of flour; and then from 10 to 12 bushels of sharps and bran, which we shall use for feeding pigs and poultry.\* If we have 4000 inmates,

\* I have been in communication, on this subject, with a practical miller, W. H. Herald, Esq., J.P., of Accrington, who writes as follows :—

"Borough Corn Mill, Accrington,  
" June 23, 1886.

" DEAR SIR,

" In reply to your favour, the quantity of flour obtainable from wheat of good average quality is 70 lb. out of each 100 lb. of wheat. The remainder of the weight is about 2 lb. of loss in screening, and the rest, 28 lb. of bran, sharps, etc. Under the old system of milling, 75 per cent. could be obtained, but the new processes purify the wheats and semolina so thoroughly, that 5 lb. of what formerly passed into the flour goes into the offals or provender. You will thus see that each sack of 280 lb. of flour requires 400 lb. of good wheat. There are some wheats, such as the thin Russian Ghirkas, that produce only 64 to 65 per cent. of flour."

as in the West Derby Union, we must have 571 acres, but let us say 600 acres of our land sown with wheat.

The reader may ask at this point, why grow wheat at all? If it is imported from California now, how can we expect it to be a profitable growth then? Let us consider this objection. The reason why the Californian farmer can sell his wheat in our market is this: he has advantages over our English farmer, in two important particulars. He has a virgin soil; and therefore he does not spend any money on manure. I have already shown that under the new organization of the workhouse, we should not fall below the Californian farmer in our advantages in this respect. His next advantage is that he pays little or no rent. If it had not been for this, the growth of wheat would never have failed in the hands of our English farmer. The Californian farmer puts into his own pocket the sum of £2 an acre, which the English farmer pays to his landlord. Consider the effect of this. On a farm of 400 acres it amounts to £800 per annum. Does any one suppose that such an income would not have kept our English wheat-fields under the care of English farmers? If there is any such, he little knows the thrift and industry of that noble class of men! If the terms are granted which I have named in the preceding chapter, it is evident that the English co-operative workhouse will be able to produce wheat cheaper (I use the word in its fullest sense), cheaper than the

Californian farmer, because in every other respect the Californian is at a disadvantage as compared with the English farmer. He has to pay more for the carriage of his wheat to our market ; he has to pay more for labour. And it is a popular delusion to suppose that his land at harvest time produces more bushels to the acre, as will be seen by a reference to the foregoing tables.

And now, having glanced at the production of flour—the staff of life—let us glance at the possibilities of our potato supply. It will be noticed that one of Mr. Stubbs's half-acre plots produced, in addition to wurzels, carrots, beans, and 12 bushels of damaged potatoes, 55 bushels of good potatoes. We will make this the basis of calculation so as to allow for possible errors. Fifty-five bushels from half-an-acre, means 110 bushels per acre. Now the average consumption for one man, is three bushels per annum. Leaving out the fractions, we find that one acre will supply 36 men. We have 4000 persons in the union, and we must accordingly plant, say 112 acres. And let it be remembered that I have estimated here the crop of potatoes at 110 bushels, which amounts to 3 tons 17 cwt. to the acre. That it is not an extravagant assumption I am assured, by a reference made in the "History of Ralahine" to the experiments of M. Ville on the kind of manure required for potatoes and other vegetables. The experiments were made in 1869, and the result was as follows :—

Complete good manure ...	...	yield 6 tons 8 cwt. per acre.
Manure without potash ...	...	3 " 18 "
Without manure, as on the lazy } beds or mock ground in Ireland }	" 1 "	8 " "

An adequate supply of proper food banishes the potato disease. If, then, we used good manure, we should only require to sow 56 acres instead of the 112 which I have calculated.

Let us next turn to our dairy farm. This will be rather a small undertaking compared with some which exist in the country already. A farmer in one of the eastern counties keeps 1000 stall-fed milch cows to supply part of London with milk produced on his arable farm. We will keep 550 cows and 100 calves on an average; so that we may have milk, butter, cheese, beef, and leather. With such a stock we may kill, say 500 cows every year without diminishing our stock; allowing 50 for losses at birth and through disease. Cows breed once a year. In order to supply one quart of new milk daily to each 4000 workmen we should require 130 cows; and to allow them 1 lb. of butter each per week, we should require the cream from the milk of 333 cows. The skimmed milk would be used for calves and the butter-milk for pigs. If the milk of 80 cows were used for cheese; and if we kept seven bulls; we should utilize a herd of 550 cattle, exclusive of calves growing up, which need never exceed 100.

In order that the reader may confirm the above estimates, I will here quote a letter which he will find

printed originally in the *Live Stock Journal*, of June 11, 1886. The editor is endeavouring to ascertain the produce of Jersey cows, and the following is one of several letters bringing similar testimony from different parts of England:—

“During the four weeks from April 28th to 25th of May, I had an average of 16 cows and heifers in milk; total quantity milk drawn, 10,381 lb.; total quantity butter made 509 lb.; ratio of pounds of milk to pounds of butter, 20.33. During the year 1885 the average quantity of milk required to make 1 lb. of butter in my dairy was 19.27 lb. I should add that I use concentrated food, such as cotton-cake, ground oats, etc., in moderate quantities all the year round to animals in milk. In the month of May they were having about 6 lb. daily.”

We next turn to the question of the extent of land required for the support of our cows. If they are to be stall-fed (the system of feeding which under co-operative influences would be most economical), then we shall have an abundant supply of food from 600 acres of land. We are helped to understand the reason of this, when we know that the produce of an acre of prickly comfrey (*Symphytum aspernum*) according to Mr. B. de la Bere, weighs from 80 to 100 tons. It is a perennial, which cows eat readily, and is cut four or five times during the year. An acre of meadow grass, on the contrary, will only produce from seven to eight tons of food for cattle. The advantages of stall feeding are obvious. A full-sized

cow consumes from 120 lb. to 130 lb. in twenty-four hours, in summer ; 15 lb. of hay, and 70 lb. of roots in the same time in winter months.

The most profitable crops to raise,\* for variety and quantity are : Comfrey, lucerne, sainfoin, Italian rye grass, green rape, vetches, and clover, for the summer months ; and swedes, mangolds, kohl-rabi, carrots and parsnips for winter months. The leaves of mangold wurzel, when pulled, are relished while fresh, both by cattle and pigs. Many of these plants are perennial, and will afford three or four cuttings of a dense mass of green fodder, several of them yielding from 50 to 80 tons per acre, according to the tillage and quality of the ground.

Eighteen tons of food per annum is a liberal allowance for a cow. We may reasonably expect, therefore, that one acre will support one cow, if the cattle are stall-fed. And we may with confidence allow about 600 acres for the support of our dairy farm.

Our next concern is to see how far an annual supply of 500 carcases of beef would supply the necessities of 4000 persons. Last Christmas I gave a free dinner to 120 half-starved children. The dinner consisted of beef and potatoes and onions cooked together as a hot-pot, which was followed by plum-puddings. Nearly all the children had two large plates of beef and potatoes ; some of them had three, and some four, helpings. I find on reference to my notes that the

\* See the experience of Mr. Craig, described in "The History of Ralahine." Trübner.

total number of hot-pots had required 38 lb. of beef and 70 lb. of potatoes. The question now resolves itself into an easy problem in simple proportion, and we find that if 38 lb. of beef will serve 120 with a dinner of hot-pot, 1267 lb. will serve 4000. Now, two carcases may be expected to supply us with butcher's meat for one day ; they would be sufficient if they weighed only 630 lb. each, whereas steers of the shorthorn breed very often realize a weight of from 800 to 1000 lb.

We should thus, out of 500 carcases have beef enough, and to spare, to provide us with dinners on 250 days out of the year.

There are 115 days remaining, which may well be provided for out of the sheep farm, the piggeries, and the poultry yard. Already we begin to see that there is a danger of over-production, for in this country the pig has usually two litters in a year, the breeding seasons being April and October. The number produced at each litter depends on the character of the breed, but ten is the average number. The breed known as the Yorkshire or old Lincolnshire breed is perhaps the most general favourite. It is a quick grower, and will easily make from 20 to 25 stone before completing its first year.

If we kept 80 sows for breeding purposes, we should have no less than 1600 pigs to dispose of every year. We will allow 100 annually for losses through accident and disease. This leaves 1500.

Full-grown pigs, house-fed, killed for curing purposes are generally found to weigh 18 stone. But if the meat is intended to be eaten fresh, or simply salted, then the pigs are generally killed at from fifteen to twenty weeks old, when they may be expected to yield eight stone.

One hundredweight of pork would supply a dinner to 280 persons. Eleven such carcases would suffice amply for the dinners of 4000. We have 1500 pigs to dispose of every year. Let us set aside 236 of these for curing purposes, that we may have ham and bacon for breakfast. We have 1264 left for dinners; and we shall find by working out another simple problem in division, that 1264 carcases would give us dinners for 115 days every year. I ought not to leave this part of our subject without pointing out the fact that the annual allowance of 236 full-grown pigs would supply the workhouse with about twenty-five tons of bacon.

The sheep farm on the estate would probably be stocked with sheep of the Leicestershire breed, because we should keep them primarily for the sake of their wool, and this is a large animal giving good wool, whose carcase yields from 90 lb. to 100 lb. of mutton. In the union at present under our consideration, for simplicity sake, I have made other provision for *buying* the wool we shall need; and it is not, therefore, necessary to enter into calculations on this question of the supply of wool. Nevertheless, it may

be interesting to the reader to know that one acre of moderate grass land is sufficient to maintain three sheep ; that every sheep yields about seven or eight pounds of wool per annum, and that a hundred ewes would be safely delivered of about a hundred and fifty lambs every spring.

I have put down 50 acres in oats, which yield a harvest on the average of 50 bushels to the acre. This would give us an annual yield of  $622\frac{1}{2}$  sacks of oats, enough for breakfasts and the occasional feeding of our stock.

Boots and shoes are manufactured from leather which is made from cows' hides. We shall have at our disposal 500 hides every year. At present a raw hide is worth about 12s. ; when it is tanned and curried for the making of uppers in the shoe trade, it is worth about 38s. When it is tanned and thickened for making sole leather the hide is worth about 60s. Fourteen pairs of uppers of average size can be cut out of one hide. One hide, tanned for soleing purposes may be reckoned on, to sole and heel thirty-five pairs. So much for the shoe-making materials. The average consumption is about one *new* pair a year ; and the soleing and heelng of a pair. In the neighbourhood of Skipton it used to be a custom with cobblers and shoemakers to undertake the shoe-making work of adult farmers at a fixed sum of £1 a year. The new pair was reckoned at 16s. 6d. in value, and the cobbling at 3s. 6d. a year. We have

therefore to find out what number of hides will be required to make the uppers of 4000 pairs, and what number to sole and heel 8000 pairs. If one hide makes 14 pairs of uppers it will require 286 hides to make 4000 pairs. If one hide will furnish soles for 35 pairs we shall require 228 hides to obtain 8000 soles. It thus seems that we shall require—

286 hides for uppers and  
228   ,    soles.  
—  
514 hides per annum.

We should find, however, that 500 hides would be a very liberal allowance, because our estimate has been based upon the requirements of a Yorkshire farmer, and many of the members of our population will be infants, and children who would have been contracted for by the Yorkshire shoemakers at 10s. a year instead of 20s., and who would accordingly consume about half the quantity of leather.

It is not necessary in this rough outline, to go into details concerning the management of the various occupations of old men, and young people, which would grow naturally around such an estate; the hiving of bees for the sake of their honey and their wax; the care of the orchard and the fruit gardens, and such things.

In many districts—except in places where the land is cheap and very poor, it would not be worth while to attempt to grow our own wool. And we should

therefore be obliged to sow, say 130 acres of wheat and exchange the wheat for wool, which is sold at about 1s. per pound, or fine merino wools at 1s. 6d. This is imported, not only from Andalusia, but also from our Australian colonies. If, therefore, we find it a waste of good land to keep sheep, we must exchange our wheat for foreign wools and manage without the mutton. Now it will be found that a suit of woollen clothing for a man will weigh about six or seven pounds. Policemen and telegraph operators have their clothing renewed once a year. We therefore conclude that (of woollen garments) seven pounds weight, which is a man's allowance for one suit, will be a liberal basis for an average calculation. Let us say wool of 10s. value a year per head, which is £2000 value for 4000 persons.

In Mr. Stubbs's balance-sheets for the years 1878 to 1883, printed at the beginning of this chapter, it will be observed that he realized an average of about £15 10s. per acre by the sale of his produce. The question now may be stated thus—

$$\begin{array}{rcl} \text{£} & \text{.} & \text{d.} \\ \text{As } 15 & 10 & 0 \\ \text{---} & \text{---} & \text{---} \\ \text{£} & \text{.} & \text{Acre.} \\ 2000 & & \text{Acres.} \\ \text{---} & & \text{---} \\ 1 & : & 129 \end{array}$$

We thus find that in order to obtain from abroad wool in quantities equal to £2000 value per annum, we must export annually the produce of 129—say 130—acres of land.

Coals would have to be imported into many of the co-operative estates. One acre of land produces

£15 10s. in value per annum ; coals are paid for at the rate of 8s. 6d. a ton in the Liverpool parish workhouse ; therefore, if we require a hundred tons of coal per annum, we must plant an additional three acres of land.

s.	d.	£	s.	d.	Ton of Coals.	Tons.
As 8 6				: 15 10 0 :: 1		
				: 36½		
				tons of coal could be pur- chased with the produce of one acre of land.		

I have placed amongst the items in the subjoined outline a hundred acres for the culture of flax. It grows admirably on poor land in Ulster, and would flourish anywhere in England in a sandy loam. It may be sown after turnips or potatoes, but there is a danger that the soil will be too rich for it after these crops ; and if the soil be too rich, the flax is luxuriant but of very coarse quality. It grows best and most profitably on moderately poor land, after a crop of wheat. Flax seed, or linseed, is valuable for fattening cattle. The flax itself we should, of course, spin and weave into linens, towellings, etc. Of dress materials manufactured from flax, there are linen, brown holland, drill, diaper, and other graceful and durable fabrics. If we imported wool in exchange for wheat, we should be able also to weave the best materials commonly used for men's clothing. We should probably require about forty power-looms to do our weaving ; and a small windmill or water-wheel would be powerful enough to drive as many as sixty-four modern power-looms. The paupers at Bath have built a beautiful

church, and they could just as easily build a windmill or a water-wheel.

It may be interesting to my reader to observe that, under co-operative conditions of production, the steam-engine, as a motive power, would not be so economical as either the water-wheel or the windmill. Wandering a month ago in the district that lies between Chester and Wrexham, I inquired of a miller in a country village what power he obtained from a small undershot wheel, and why he did not get an engine to grind his flour. "Oh," he replied, "it would be a dead loss to me every year. I should require an engine of sixteen horse-power to do my work, which would cost me much more than a new water-wheel, and the engine would require a man and a supply of coals every day, which are charges I do not encounter to-day. It is true I am inconvenienced, as it is, by the fact that there are seasons of drought when the stream is low, when I can only grind with one pair of stones, but then I know what is the extent of my market, and my customers are never so hard pressed for time that they cannot wait for a week or so in the dry season. I can grind, winter and summer, a hundred and twenty bushels in the twenty-four hours on the average. When the stream is full of water, I grind with three pairs of stones; when it is low, I grind with one pair." I asked the miller why the large flour mills of Liverpool and Chester were driven by steam-engines; and he replied that they *must* have

steam power, so that they could undertake work of a more fluctuating nature ; they must be ready always to do work in a hurry, or they would be left behind in the race of competition. A miller, who was grinding flour with a windmill on the Wirral, in the county of Chester, gave a similar explanation of his position. He had three pairs of stones, and when the wind blew a moderate gale he could grind with all his machinery, but when there was only a faint breeze, he was compelled to use only one pair of stones. An average of twelve months' work, done by his windmill, led him to believe that he would require a steam-engine of sixteen horse-power to do the same work. He further informed me that there were many windmills on the Wirral which were equal, on a yearly average, to a twenty horse-power steam-engine.

Our estate of two thousand acres would be laid out somewhat as follows :—

	Acres.
Wheat (for bread), equal to 1,166,000 lb. of bread	... 600
" (for the purchase of wool) ... ... ...	130
" (for the purchase of coals) ... ... ...	3
Fodder for cows, equal to 2812½ cwt. of beef, and 365,000 gallons of milk, besides butter, leather, and cheese	600
Potatoes, equal to 8624 cwt.	... ... ... 112
Food for pigs, horses, and poultry, equal to 1765 cwt. of bacon and pork ...	... ... ... 200
Vegetables for the table ... ... ...	... 60
Orchard and fruit gardens ... ... ...	... 28
Flax ... ... ...	... ... 100
 Total acres	 1,833

This would leave ample space for storehouses, workshops, recreation grounds, and houses. As we have seen, it would be more than sufficient to supply the wants of four thousand persons.

If the above estimates be tolerably correct, we shall produce annually the following :—

Bacon and pork	...	...	1,765	cwt.
Beef	...	...	2,812 $\frac{1}{2}$	cwt.
Bread	...	...	1,166,000	lb.
Potatoes	...	...	8,624	cwt.
Milk	...	...	365,000	gallons.

In order to see whether an ample provision of food had been made for four thousand persons, I called upon the vestry clerk of the parish of Liverpool, and inquired whether I could be furnished with the quantities actually consumed in the Liverpool parish workhouse during the last year, ending Lady Day, 1885. The average number of recipients (see p. 15) was 6460. The clerk could not inform me at the moment, but promised to write, and in the course of a few days I received the following :—

“SIR,

“I send on the other side the total quantities of the articles named which were consumed in the workhouse during the year ending 25th March, 1885. The quantities given include what was supplied to the officers as well as the inmates, as I find that the separation would involve considerable labour.

“Yours truly,

“H. J. HAGGER.”

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Beef and mutton	...	...	2,503	cwt.
Bread	...	...	893,589	lb.
Potatoes	...	...	3,351	cwt.
Milk	...	...	84,687	gallons.

We ought to remember that in the workhouse at present, butcher's meat is only supplied on two or three days during the week to the inmates. And we must further remember that a man who is working every day will consume much more food of every kind than a man who is only yawning.

And now I have to ask my readers to regard this chapter on the details of the remedy in the light in which it has been written. It does not claim to be the farmer's guide, or the weaver's, or the shoemaker's. It is a summary of some of the facts and possibilities of nature. It is very probable that I may have suggested that twenty or thirty acres of land should be used in some instances where they would have served more essential purposes if they had been devoted to other kinds of culture.

Errors of this kind I anticipate. Some of the necessaries of life have been omitted, such as sugar and salt and pepper. I have not tried to enumerate everything. It is too soon for this task at present. I intend that it should be suggestive of methods and not exhaustive. The main question, after all, is this—Whether or not it be possible, under a good manager, to till the land, and to utilize the results in such a way that two thousand acres may be made to maintain

four thousand persons? Everything I have said in this chapter turns upon this question.

And it must also be observed, that before the contention of this book can be silenced, appeals must not be made to the actual average results of farming, as it exists at present in England under a competitive system. The land, to-day, is starved for want of labour, and for want of its natural allowance of manure. Our opponent must prove the scheme to be impossible, even when labour is overwhelmingly abundant—as it is, if only it might be employed—and when manure is close at hand.

The daily life of the family of a workman upon the estate would be somewhat as follows: The household would arise from slumber not later than seven o'clock in the morning. At eight o'clock they would proceed in company to a common hall, where a breakfast of considerable variety would be served. At nine o'clock the children would go into the schools, and the workers would begin their day's labour. At one o'clock dinner would be served in a common hall. At two o'clock work would be resumed until four o'clock. Then tea would be served; after which every one would be free to pursue their own pleasure. At eight o'clock a supper would be served. Now, if the man desired to occupy a separate cottage in which to spend his evenings, he could begin, during the afternoon and evening, to cultivate half an acre of land, and earn thereupon sufficient to pay the rent of

his cottage. But it would be necessary to attach such a plot of ground to every cottage intended to be tenanted by the family of a working man, so as to enable him to earn his rent. All the luxuries of the working man and his family, could be earned or maintained after four o'clock in the afternoon, by manufacturing the products of some handicraft, or by gardening. I can easily imagine that, for the sake of the retriever, the pigeons, the tobacco, the poultry, the greenhouse, the tricycle, the violin, the piano, the theatre, or for the sake of literature, many morning and evening industries would spring up quickly, within the walls of the co-operative estates, without any other stimulus from the governor than that which already exists in every human heart. The acquisition of the luxuries of life might well be left to the ingenuity of private enterprise. The work of the State would be accomplished, when it had so far re-arranged the conditions of human life, that by a moderate expenditure of human labour, food and shelter and clothing—the necessities of life—might be earned by every man and woman in England who needed them.

## CHAPTER X.

## EXPERIMENTS WHICH HAVE NOT FAILED.

“ All things on earth, and all in heaven,  
On Thy Eternal Will depend :  
And all for greater good were given,  
Would man pursue the appointed end.”

S. COLLETT, 1763.

“ Rain and the sweet sun  
God shuts and opens with His hand ; and us  
Hath He set upright and made larger eyes  
To read some broken letters of this book  
Which has the world at lesson ; and for what,  
If we not do the royallest good work,  
If we not wear the worth of sovereignty  
As attribute and raiment ? At our feet  
Lies reason like a hound, and faith is chained ;  
Lame expectation halts behind our ways,  
The soundless secret of dead things is made  
As naked shallows to us. It is for that  
We owe strong service of the complete soul  
To the most cunning fashioner that made  
So good work of us : and except we serve  
We are mere beasts, and lesser than a snake,  
Not worth His pain at all.”

A. C. SWINBURNE, *The Queen Mother.*

SUCCESS of a partial nature has attended at least three experiments made in the direction of this reform of our public charities, which I will now describe.

The first may be regarded as the offspring of our poor-law; the second as the offspring of communism; and the third as the offspring of co-operation.

“Experiments in Workhouse Management,” is the title of a short paper published in *Chambers’s Journal*.\* After commenting upon the monotony of the pauper’s life, whose only duties are “to clean their rooms and bury each other,” our author says that “if the pauper were put to some useful employment in the house or the grounds, he would not only save a considerable amount of otherwise unnecessary expenditure, but would find some relief from that *ennui* which may be supposed to trouble even a pauper.” And again he tells us that “some experiments made at the large workhouse at Newcastle-on-Tyne seem to point to a ready and effectual method of dealing with one of the most difficult problems connected with the administration of the poor-laws. The building which was the germ of the present workhouse at Newcastle-on-Tyne was built on an old and vicious plan, with long low rooms, deficient both in light and air. . . . The workhouses recently erected are incomparably superior to the sometimes flashy, but almost invariably cramped and incommodious poorhouses of earlier days. The peculiarity of the ‘house’ at Newcastle is its system of pauper labour, which is an innovation on anything which has hitherto been tried. Now, it is determined that at least the able-bodied pauper shall work for

\* See *Chambers’s Journal*, January 1, 1881.

his maintenance. When boards of guardians are compelled to find work for the unemployed, their usual resource is stone-breaking, an operation which has been found to involve a considerable loss. In some instances, as was the case with Middlesborough, the stone actually sells for less when broken than it costs in its raw state. The consequence is easily seen. Guardians endeavour to avoid stone-breaking as a test ; and as no other means of utilizing pauper labour easily suggests itself, the test is very frequently never applied. At Newcastle, the difficulty has been met by the erection of commodious workshops, and the bringing of some fourteen acres of land under what is known as small cultivation ; which measures have been attended by an almost immediate reduction of the pauper roll. Four years ago there were over two hundred 'shilling-a-day men,' as they are called at the Newcastle workhouse. The determination to make them work, has now not only thinned their ranks, but actually exterminated them as a class. At present there is not a single 'shilling-a-day man' in the workhouse grounds. This means that the large class of persons who seek the workhouse because it offers facilities for laziness, have either moved on to other towns, or have sought employment outside. Their departure left room for the development of a new system, which has so far produced the most satisfactory and beneficial results amongst the inmates.

"Almost every inmate of a workhouse is capable of

some kind of labour. Amongst those who apply to the union are men of all trades, some of them so demoralized by drink as to be incapable of finding employment out of doors, and others of them too infirm to earn sufficient to live upon. All these, on entering the Newcastle workhouse, are required to labour according to their powers. The trades carried on in the house are shoemaking, tailoring, plumbing and gasfitting, tinsmith work, blacksmithing, upholstery, joinery, gardening, and floriculture. The female inmates are employed in knitting, sewing, washing, darning, patching, and baking. The gardening has proved itself an admirable experiment. Fourteen acres of rather harsh and ungenial soil have, judiciously cultivated, not only yielded sufficient to provide the workhouse with vegetables the year through, but have left a surplus for outdoor sale. In its third year of cultivation, the land has produced a profit of £338,\* which in itself is no meagre set-off against the rates. So far as vegetables are concerned, it has been found possible to sell to shopkeepers without raising any considerable outcry; but it is not so easy to dispose of the results of pauper labour in other departments. Manufacturers of shoes or of clothing not unnaturally complain of the competition of the work-

\* If 14 acres "produced a profit of £338," it appears that an estate of 2000 acres, such as I have proposed, would produce "a profit" of £48,285 14s. 3d. annually, exclusive of manufacturing industries.

house. Indeed, the disposition is to cry out rather too readily. This was almost comically illustrated a short time since, when a committee of bandmasters signed a remonstrance against the competition of the workhouse band !

*"In almost every department of work, it is found possible to produce far more than the house itself needs.* Thus, in spite of the short time during which the system has been on trial, there is already a two years' reserve of boots and shoes. This happens notwithstanding the most careful and judicious distribution of labour among the various workshops. The inmates, slow and easy-going, as many of them are, seemed to have almost unlimited powers of production. Everything needed in the house is made there, from an ambulance to a tin plate.

" The whole of the inside fittings to the new wings have been made in the joiners' shops ; and a large portion of the old building has been taken down and rebuilt entirely by pauper labour, the masons, brick-layers, labourer, joiners, slaters, and glaziers, all being inmates of the house. In this way it is proposed to elevate and otherwise to alter the whole of the older portions of the workhouse, proceeding gradually, and without extra expense to the ratepayers. As all the adult inmates are kept at work, so are all the children taught a trade. The girls are made thoroughly acquainted with the various departments of household work, and are thus in a measure qualified for the

position of domestic servants. The boys spend half a day in school, and half a day in the workshops, the hothouses, or the garden. . . . The majority of the paupers are all the happier for the employment which is found for them. . . . The only persons who complain greatly are the drones, who accordingly clear out of the workhouse as soon as they know what workhouse life means. Their general statement is, 'We didn't come here to work.' Having to work, and being possessed of ability to do so, they prefer the freedom from restraint which is to be found outside, to any employment, however leisurely, that must be accepted as task-work within 'the house.' This is a result which is in itself a sufficient justification of the system; for it leaves the workhouse to just such persons as it was intended to benefit, and frees it from those who are dishonest and unnecessary burdens upon the rates. . . . The extensive system of pauper labour which has grown up at Newcastle will, it is hoped, be liberally attempted elsewhere. Probably, in some instances, farming and gardening will be made to play a much greater part than they do even here, *it being calculated that a quarter of an acre of land to every inmate of over ten years of age would make a workhouse absolutely self-supporting.* The country workhouses have abundant opportunities of trying the experiment, though, of course they will always have to meet the usual objections to the utilization of pauper labour."

I have described these experiments as being partially successful. Let us now consider how far the Newcastle workhouse succeeds in solving our problem of poverty, and in what respect it fails. The experiment is directed on the right lines. It has succeeded in finding work for the unemployed ; it has not been able to find as much as they were able to do, although many of the inmates were "infirm." We observe, moreover, that they are troubled with over-production. They have vegetables sufficient for all their requirements, and have so many for sale to the public, that in one year they produce a profit of £338. "In almost every department of work," they can "produce far more than the house itself needs." "The inmates have unlimited powers of production." All this is very encouraging. We may, with justice, call the Newcastle workhouse a success. It has done all it tried to do.

The managers, however, have yet to grasp the true co-operative principle. "Manufacturers of shoes or clothing," says our author, "complain of the competition of the workhouse." There *is* no competition in the true co-operation ; and the Newcastle guardians have only to learn how to combine the independence of their workhouse with the co-operation of its inmates, and they will be the first to give a practical example of the completed circle of true co-operation. If the sentences I have quoted are the measure of the success of the experiment, the

following are the measure of its imperfection. "Fourteen acres of land" are obviously not sufficient to supply the workers with the raw materials, out of which to feed and clothe so many. "A quarter of an acre of land to every inmate over ten years old would make a workhouse absolutely self-supporting." It would interest me to see the calculations upon which this estimate is based. After a painstaking consideration of this question, I have arrived at the conclusion that half an acre of land is necessary for every person; and I do not think any experiment will be a conclusive test of the practicability of this reform of our "charities," unless such an allowance be made. We are warned by the Newcastle experiment of the folly of applying the principle to isolated unions. We realize the fact that before we shall be able to "get our knaves and dastards arrested," we shall have to change the whole of the poor-law unions throughout England. A partial experiment will give the "knaves and dastards" a little inconvenience; will cause them, as at Newcastle, "to move on to other towns," and that is all. It must, therefore, be a general reform; it must be proclaimed all through the country that honest work is to be had for the asking, and immediately the trade of the beggar will be undermined; the sympathy of the credulous will at once cease; there will be no more pence for the idler, no matter what the length of his face, or the number of holes in his coat.

To be "out of employment" will mean one of two things—either that a man is rich, or that he is lazy. In any case he will find it much more difficult to beg coppers, and he will find the policeman much more willing to arrest him than he has ever yet been.

But the chief mark of imperfection in the Newcastle experiment, is the fact that they did not see that competition was unnecessary as well as unjust. "It is not so easy to dispose of the results of pauper labour," says our author. This is the old burden. "We failed," said the treasurer of the St. Chad's experiment, "because we could not sell our produce." This has been the stumbling-block of co-operators and philanthropists from the beginning. When the Newcastle workhouse becomes its own market, it will be able to regulate its hours of labour in such a way that the workers will no longer be troubled with "over-production;" the time formerly spent in doing a great amount of work may be spent in doing a smaller amount, and doing it better. If still they are unable to find sufficient occupation to fill the working hours, let them send to Parliament every year, food and clothing and shoes for the use of our soldiers, and let them continue to do this until the national debt is paid and a national fund accumulated; and when this is done, we will endeavour to find them some other good object which shall add no less to their own credit than to the well-being of their country.

The communistic experiment which, in my estima-

tion, has arrived nearest to the true solution of the problem of poverty, is the community at Oneida. Its founder was a revivalist preacher, named John Humphrey Noyes, who was born in 1811, and who died in 1886. He became a Communist, and gathered a little circle of believers around him. His mother, two sisters, and a brother formed the community at the outset ; then came his wife, and the wife of his brother ; then came one George Cragin and his family from New York, and from time to time other families and other individuals. Gradually they evolved a social theory of their own, and prepared for the trial of it. In the year 1846 they began a cautious experiment in communism. It has steadily increased, and is still in existence. Its social theories have been most bitterly condemned ; its religious teachings are not popular ; but neither the one nor the other are of any consequence to us as students of the English poor-law, and we shall limit what would otherwise be a discursive topic to a consideration of the material results of the Oneida community after nearly forty years' existence.

The Oneida community\* has 202 members, and two affiliated societies, one of 40 members at Wallingford, Connecticut, and one of 35 members at Willow Place, on a detached part of the Oneida domain. This domain consists of 664 acres of choice land, and

\* See "History of American Socialisms," by John Humphrey Noyes, p. 641 *et seq.* Trübner.

three excellent water-powers. The manufacturing interest here created is valued at over \$200,000. The Wallingford domain consists of 228 acres, with a water-power, a printing-office, and a silk factory. The three community families (in all 277 persons) are financially and socially a unit.

The main dwelling of the community is a brick structure consisting of a centre and two wings, the whole 187 feet in length, by 70 in breadth. It has towers at either end, and irregular extensions reaching 100 feet in the rear. This is the community home. It contains the chapel, library, reception-room, museum, principal drawing-rooms, and many private apartments. The other buildings of the group are the "old mansion," containing the kitchen and dining-room; the fontine, which is a work-building; the fruit-house; the store, etc. The manufacturing buildings in connection with the water-powers are large and mostly of brick.

The organic principle of communism in industry and domestic life is seen in the common roof, the common table, and the daily meetings of all the members.

The extent and variety of industrial operations at the Oneida community may be seen, in part, by the following statistics from the report of the year 1868:—

Number of steel traps manufactured during the year	...	...	...	...	...	278,000
Number of packages of preserved fruits	...					104,458
Amount of raw silk manufactured	...	...				4,664 lb.
Iron cast at the foundry	...	...	...	...		227,000 lb.

Lumber manufactured at saw-mill	...	...	305,000	feet.
Product of milk from the dairy	...	...	31,143	gallons.
"    " hay on the domain...	...	...	300	tons.
"    " potatoes ...	...	...	800	bushels.
"    " strawberries ...	...	...	740	"
"    " apples ...	...	...	1,450	"
"    " grapes ...	...	...	9,631	lb.

Stock on the farm, 93 cattle and 25 horses. Amount of teaming done, valued at \$6260.

In addition to these, many branches of industry necessary for the convenience of the family are pursued, such as shoemaking, tailoring, etc. The cash business of the community during the year, as represented by its receipts and disbursements, was about \$575,000. Amount paid for hired labour, \$34,000. Family expenses (exclusive of domestic labour by the members, teaching, and work in the printing-office), \$41,533.43. The amount of labour performed by the community members during the year was found to be approximately as follows:—

	Number.	Amount of labour per day.		
		hrs.	min.	
Able-bodied men	...	...	80	...
"    " women	...	...	84	...
Invalid and aged men	...	...	6	...
Boys	...	...	4	...
Invalid and aged women	...	...	9	...
Girls	...	...	2	...

This is exclusive of the care of children, school-teaching, printing, and editing the *Circular*, and much head-work in all departments.

Taking 304 days for the working year, we have, as a product of the above figures, a total of 35,568 days' work at ten hours each. Supposing this labour to be paid at the rate of \$1.50 per day, the aggregate sum for the year would be \$53,352.00. By comparing this with the amount of family expenses, \$41,533.43, we find, at the given rate of wages, a surplus of profit amounting to \$11,818.57, or 33 cents profit for each person per day. "This represents," says J. Humphrey Noyes, "the saving which ordinary unskilled labour would make by means of the mere economy of association. Were it possible for a skilful mechanic to live in co-operation with others, so that his wife and elder children could spend some time at productive labour, and his family could secure the economies of combined households, their wages, at present rates, would be more than double the cost of living."

The financial history of the community is the following: It commenced business in 1848, but did not adopt the practice of taking annual inventories till 1857. Of the period between these dates we can give but a general account. The community, in the course of that period, had five or six branches with common interests scattered in several States. The "Property Register," kept from the beginning, shows that the amount of property brought in by the members of all the communities, up to the 1st of January, 1857, was \$107,706.45. The amount held at Oneida at that date, as stated in the first regular inventory,

was only \$41,740. The branch communities at Putney, Wallingford, and elsewhere, at the same time, had property valued at \$25,532.22. So that the total assets of the associated communities were \$67,272.22, or \$40,434.23 less than the amount brought in by the members. In other words, between the years 1848 and 1857, the associated communities sunk (in round numbers) \$40,000. Various causes may be assigned for this, such as inexperience, lack of established business, persecutions and extortions, the burning of the community store, the sinking of the sloop *Rebecca Ford* in the Hudson River, the maintenance of an expensive printing family at Brooklyn, the publication of a free paper, etc.

Previous to 1857, the community abandoned the policy of working in scattered detachments, and concentrated its forces at Oneida and Wallingford. From the 1st of January, 1857, when its capital was \$41,740, to the present time, the progress of its money matters is recorded in the following statistics, drawn from its annual inventories:—

In 1857 net earnings	\$5,470.11
„ 1858 „ „	1,763.60
„ 1859 „ „	10,278.38
„ 1860 „ „	15,611.03
„ 1861 „ „	5,877.89
„ 1862 „ „	9,859.78
„ 1863 „ „	44,755.30
„ 1864 „ „	61,382.62
„ 1865 „ „	12,382.81
„ 1866 „ „	13,198.74

Total net earnings in ten years, £180,580·26, being a yearly average income of £18,058·02 above all expenses. The succeeding inventories show the following result:—

Net earnings in 1867, £21,416·02.

„ „ 1868, £55,100·83.

Being an average for the last two years of over £38,000 per annum. During the year 1869, the following improvements were effected: (1) An entire wing was added to the brick mansion house, for the use of the children; (2) an apparatus for heating the whole by steam was introduced; (3) a building was erected for an academy, and systematic home education was commenced; (4) silk weaving was introduced at Willow Place; (5) the manufacture of silk twist was established at Wallingford; (6) the communities at Oneida and Wallingford were more thoroughly consolidated than before; (7) the book "The History of American Socialism," was prepared at Oneida, and was printed at Wallingford.

There is very little to be said, by way of criticism, concerning this movement. It was not thoroughly co-operative, because some men who were employed at Oneida were employed merely as wage-earning servants; they did not participate in the profits. If they earned any profit, it was divided amongst the "members." And, again, it was not co-operative in the true sense, because a large part of its success depended on the sale of its products; its manufactures

were quite as much for sale as for use ; and the extent of this competition—not of the members with each other, but of their society with neighbouring enterprises which were manufacturing similar commodities —this is the measure of its failure considered as an attempt to realize the true co-operation.

But it succeeded in finding work for men and women. This is part of the solution of the problem. It found for them work that was useful and profitable ; and did not very much tamper with the markets of the world. Its success leads us to expect favourable results from the reform of our English poor-laws, because the Oneida community has encountered many obstacles which will not require to be struggled with in the English co-operative estates. At Oneida the workers had to buy their own land and to build their own home. It is a part of the reform proposed in these pages, that a sufficient quantity of land shall be purchased out of one or two year's rates for the maintenance of the unemployed poor, and to give them work ; that the land so purchased shall be the property, under certain conditions, of the poor of the English nation for ever. This matter of land, labour, and machinery, is a tremendous advantage. And we may reasonably hope, that with a clearer insight into the true co-operation, and with less of the spirit of the competition than that which prevails at Oneida, the English co-operative estates will one day be able to offer wholesome saving work to all the unemployed

of this realm ; good food and sufficient clothing ; a liberal education for their children ; a purer patriotism for themselves ; and a manlier race, to vindicate the honour of fair England, when soldiers are no more needed, and the strife of brothers is ended.

The last experiment to which I would call attention in this chapter, is that of the co-operative farm at Ralahine in Ireland, organized by Mr. E. T. Craig.\*

A certain Mr. Vandeleur who owned an estate in County Clare, after a long period of threatenings and revolt, was alarmed by the raids of the "White Boys," and "Lady Clare Boys." Two bullets were sent through the skull of his steward, and Mr. Vandeleur left the family mansion in charge of an armed police force, and sought safety in the city of Limerick. He then resolved to establish a co-operative farm on his property at Ralahine. He came to England for assistance, and engaged Mr. Craig to carry out the scheme. To all outward seeming the estate at Ralahine was the least likely of all places for the experiment. There was disorder everywhere. The people knew nothing of the principles of co-operation ; all they ever seemed to realize was, that they had been an unjustly down-trodden race ; and now they were prepared to retaliate by deeds of violence and of vengeance. Poverty, wretchedness, misery, and desperation seemed everywhere prevalent.

Mr. Craig describes the estate itself as one well

\* See "The History of Ralahine," by E. T. Craig. Trübner.

suited for the purposes of a co-operative farm. "It consisted of 618 acres, about one-half of which was under tillage, with suitable farm buildings, and situated between the two main roads from Limerick to Ennis. A bog of sixty-three acres supplied fuel. A lake on the borders of the estate gave a constant and available supply of water-power, and a small stream flowing from it, gave eight-horse power to a thrashing mill, scutch and saw mill, a lathe, etc. A fall of twenty-horse power was available at a short distance when required for manufacturing purposes. A large building had been erected 30 ft. by 15 ft., suitable for a dining-hall, with a room of the same size above, suitable for lectures, reading-room, or classes. Close to these were a store-room and a dormitory above. A few yards from, and at right angles to the large rooms, were six cottages in course of erection. At several hundred yards' distance stood the old castle of Ralahine, with its lofty square tower and arched floors, capable of being temporarily adapted for the accommodation of those whom it was intended to unite in the proposed association. The estate is about twelve miles from Limerick, and about the same distance from Ennis. Newmarket-on-Fergus is three miles distant on one side, and Bunratty Castle the same distance in the other direction."

Mr. Craig, with much difficulty, won the esteem of the farm labourers, and gradually unfolded to them his plan of co-operative farming. It afterwards

appeared that the labourers to whom he addressed his proposal had been the ringleaders in the movement of revolt, and that he had exposed himself to considerable danger in attempting any experiment amongst such a people, and at a time when an English farm-steward was looked upon with suspicion, aversion, and sometimes with racial hatred.

Mr. Craig proposed that the labourers should be their own masters ; that they should appoint a committee of nine members from their own body, which should meet every evening, to arrange the business of the following day. It was fully understood that no person should act as steward, that every one should take part in agricultural operations. The labourers, who had been sullen and dissatisfied under the control of a steward, became cheerful and contented when they were governed by the men they had elected themselves. The appointments of the committee were copied on a large sheet, which was called "the daily labour sheet." This was exhibited on the wall of the lecture hall, so that every member could see that the work was fairly apportioned, and that the committee were judicious in their regulations. They had a common system of cooking ; they had associated homes ; and they undertook to educate and maintain all the children on the estate from the time when they were weaned until they arrived at the age of seventeen, when they were eligible to become members of the society.

The land and crops under tillage were as follows :—

			Eng.	ac.	r.	p.
Wheat	...	...	...	65	2	0
Barley	...	...	...	24	1	0
Oats	...	...	...	32	3	8
Potatoes	...	...	...	38	3	20
Turnips	...	...	...	30	3	4
Mangold wurzel	...	...	...	6	1	36
Vetches	...	...	...	15	3	6
Clover and rye grass	...	...	...	30	0	24
Fallow	...	...	...	23	1	27
Total under cultivation and fallow			268	0	5	
Pasture and plantations			...	280	0	7
Bog	...	...	...	63	2	36
Orchard	...	...	...	3	3	30
Houses	...	...	...	2	1	28
Total			618	0	26	

The number of members in the autumn of the second year was as follows :—

Adult men	...	...	...	...	...	35
Adult women	...	...	...	...	...	23
Orphan youths under seventeen years	...	...	...	...	...	7
Children under nine years and infants	...	...	...	...	...	16
						—
						81

An abstract from the daily labour sheet in April indicates the several occupations of the adults during one day. As the children and youths under seventeen years of age did not draw anything in the shape of wages, their labour was not entered.

Fifteen men employed in spade cultivation.  
 Four men making up compost.  
 Four men carting manure.  
 Four men at four ploughs.  
 Three attending milch cows and cattle.  
 One steaming potatoes for meals.  
 One at butcher's work.  
 Three at carpenter's work.  
 Two at smith's work.  
 One storekeeper.  
 One secretary.  
 Eight women at agricultural operations.  
 Three women at dairy and poultry.  
 One at domestic arrangements.  
 One mistress of infant school.

As the men had an interest in the produce of the farm, it was found that they worked more willingly and continuously than they had ever done previously. Instead of paying the rent to Mr. Vandeleur in money, Mr. Craig, on behalf of the new association, agreed to pay it in kind. "The landlord took the risk of the variations in the market prices, and the society the risk of good or bad seasons." The following was the agreement :—

PRODUCE TO BE RAISED FOR RENT.

6400 stones of wheat at 1s. 6d. per stone	...	£480
3840 " " barley at 10d. per stone	...	160
480 " " oats at 10d. per stone	...	20
70 cwt. of beef at 40s. per cwt.	...	140
30 " " pork at 40s. per cwt.	...	60
10 " " butter at 80s. per cwt.	...	40
		—
		£900

"The cereals," continues Mr. Craig, "could be delivered to agents in Limerick, but the fat stock had to be sent to the Liverpool market. We sent sixteen stall-fed beasts to Dublin under the care of two herds-men. They were driven along the road at a consider-able loss of fat. I followed, and delivered them to the agent, who paid the money received for them into the bank to the credit of the landlord. This method of paying the rent was a simple one, and gave certainty to the landlord and satisfaction to both parties."

It is difficult to understand that any advantage could accrue to the workmen from this method of paying the rent. It has always seemed to me that it is the manner of assessing rent which is generally unjust, and not the manner of paying it. If the rent be fixed, whether it be a fixed sum of money, or a fixed quantity of produce, then the lease of a farm is a pure speculation to the farmer; the only person who is sure to make a profit is the landowner. It happens sometimes that the farmer earns nothing. He may lose twenty yearling heifers in one year by a disease known as the "strike;" or it may happen that his oats are attacked by a black fungus, and when his harvest is brought to the threshing mill, he has not only a wretchedly poor yield of grain, but all the straw is brittle, and broken, and almost worthless. Even clever farmers are liable to misfortunes of this kind. The only equitable method of assessing the

farmer's rent, therefore, is that of paying to the land-owner a proportion of his profit, which shall rise and fall, according as he may have good or bad years.

Mr. Craig, however, agreed to pay a fixed sum ; and it happened during the time in which the co-operative farm was carried on that they were able to pay the rent easily. I have always felt, however, that this fixed rent was a weak point in the conditions of the experiment, and that the success at Ralahine was quite as much a result of good seasons as of co-operative principles.

It is one of the inevitable difficulties of the farmer's calling that whereas his annual expenditure comprises three or four inelastic items, such as his rent and taxes, and cost of labour and manure, his annual income is very variable ; one year it may be £800, and next year it may be only £200. This is the reason why co-operative farming has been so extremely difficult to organize hitherto.

The association at Ralahine came to an end very suddenly. Mr. Vandeleur, the landowner, gambled, and became bankrupt. There was no tenant right in those days ; and the association was suddenly ejected from the estate, although the rent had been paid, and all was promising well for the future. The farm had been improved and extended by the mutual co-operation of the members. The buildings had been extended by the erection of six new dwellings by the extra labour of the members. The people themselves

were regenerated ; they left behind their habits of violence and intemperance, and began to be anxious concerning the education of their children, and the cleanliness of their homes. They paid the stipulated rent regularly. The labourers had earned the ordinary wages paid in the neighbourhood of the farm ; and the men had saved, in addition, a sum equal to one-fourth of their wages, and the women a sum equal to one-fifth.

“ These great results,” says Mr. Craig, “ had been realized within three years at Ralahine ; and others, with the right men, might follow our example. Leaders and organizers, sufficiently enlightened as to the principles involved in the new system or science of society, with all the higher ‘resources of civilization,’ could call into existence similar associations in a short time, and establish them in every county in Ireland ; and what a wondrous change would be seen in the green isle of the ocean ! As it has been truly said, if our system had been allowed to continue, its example might have helped to make Ireland a paradise of peace.”

## CHAPTER XI.

## THE CHARITIES OF THE NETHERLANDS

“The social disorder in fact baffled Cardinal Wolsey’s sagacity, and he could find no better remedy for it than laws against the further extension of sheep farms, and a terrible increase of public executions. Both were alike fruitless. Enclosures and evictions went on as before.

“‘If you do not remedy the evils which produce thieves,’ More urged with bitter truth, ‘the rigorous execution of justice in punishing thieves will be vain. Let the woollen manufacture be introduced, so that honest employment may be found for those whom Want has made thieves.’”—GREEN, *History of the English People*.

“YOU ought to visit the ‘Beggar Colonies’ in Holland,” said one of my friends.

I consulted all kinds of books to learn what the “Beggar Colonies” were like, and found at last a book entitled “Poor Relief in different parts of Europe,” which, although it gave but a scanty reference to these colonies, stimulated my curiosity. This account was published in Germany about the year 1867; and it seemed evident, even at that time,

that the Dutch were very much in advance of the English in the art of charity ; for I found that these philanthropic "colonies" were institutions, not to give doles merely, but to give work. I alighted on a passage which ran as follows :—

"The number of persons in the beggar colonies existing in the provinces of Overissel and Drenthe on the 31st December, 1859, was 6789. Seven hundred and ninety-five men and women were employed in agriculture and in tending cattle ; 2353 were employed in manufacturing work, 410 men and 13 women in trades, whilst 2318 had no occupation." \*

"The live stock consisted in December, 1866, of 835 head of cattle, 134 horses, 1278 sheep, and 113 pigs. There were 843 hectares (about 2108 acres) of arable land, 685 (about 1713 acres) of meadow land, and 20½ (about 51 acres) of fruit and vegetable ground.

"The inmates made their own clothes and furniture, and were also employed in weaving and spinning, so that more than 400,000 coffee sacks and 600,000 mètres of linen and cloth were annually delivered to the East Indian Trading Company."

Soon afterwards I read Mr. Fowle's work on "The Poor Law," † and finding a solitary passage which ran as follows : "Holland has tried the latest, and per-

\* "Poor Relief in different parts of Europe," being a selection of Essays edited by A. Emminghaus, of Berlin, pp. 270, 271. Published by Stanford, 6, Charing Cross. 1873.

† "The Poor Law." English Citizen Series. T. W. Fowle, M.A. Macmillan.

haps the most advanced, experiment in poor-law legislation, no longer ago than 1870 ; ” and, being still unable to obtain explicit information on the subject, dearer to me now than all others, I found myself, on Thursday morning, the 5th of August, 1886, sailing up the river Maas into Rotterdam, on board the *Retford*, determined to see, if possible, what the Dutch charities were like. On that same evening I saw the sun set, across the Zuyder Zee, as I sat in an express train ; and at nine o’clock I arrived at Steenwyk, on the borders of Friesland, which is the nearest railway station to Frederiksoord. I must at this point explain the principal features of the Dutch method of poor relief. There are three kinds of relief.

1. There is, first, the relief of the poor at Frederiksoord. This is a private philanthropic organization, which consists of an agricultural colony extending no less than sixteen miles from extremity to extremity. Here the poor are received voluntarily. It is a privilege to live at Frederiksoord.

2. There is, next, the relief of the poor at Veenhuizen and at Ommerschans ; these are also enormous colonies, both of agriculture and manufactures. Here the poor are sent by magistrates, compulsorily. It is intended to be educational in its influence, but to be also a disgrace to live at the “ beggar colonies ” of Veenhuizen and Ommerschans ! Originally these two colonies were private charitable institutions like Frederiksoord, but in the year 1859 they were taken

over by the Dutch Parliament; and an Act was passed, in 1870, which gave strict orders to the police to arrest all beggars. After his arrest, the beggar must be taken before a magistrate, who sentences him to prison for a period varying from two weeks to three months, after which he must go to Veenhuizen or Ommerschans for two years. The effect of this law is that it is almost impossible now to find a man or woman begging in the streets of the Netherlands. The magistrates seem to have a certain amount of discretionary power in regard to the term of imprisonment; but none in regard to the length of time to be served at the beggar colonies afterwards. And I found men of every rank of society enduring the restraints of compulsory labour at Veenhuizen for being idle beggars.

3. There is also the relief of the poor in the Dutch towns, which, however, is very different from that of our poor-law unions. There are no able-bodied paupers; no enormous establishments; nothing but an almshouse for the aged, and relief for children who have been deserted by their parents.

I arrived at Frederiksoord, on the borders of Friesland, Drenthe, and Overissel, at about ten o'clock in the morning. It is a paradise in the middle of a wilderness. I never saw such utterly barren land anywhere in England as I saw for more than a hundred miles of my journey through Holland. Perhaps it was the effect of this sudden change from a

dreary moorland, where the soil was too poor to grow heather or ling, except in little patches, to a land laden with roses and violets ; a contented, industrious peasantry ; a long succession of compact, fruitful farms, good roads, shaded by trees, and excellent schools for the education of the young. Perhaps it was the effect of the sudden change, but I felt as if I had entered the gates of the promised land, when I entered the domain at Frederiksoord. I found the director, Dr. Löhnis, to be an educated man in the best sense of the word, and I count as one of the happiest days of my life the day I spent with him and his wife. The ground plan of the estate resembles the letter **T**, the upright stroke being four English miles in length, and the horizontal stroke being sixteen miles in length.

In the year 1818, the colony of Frederiksoord was founded by General Van den Bosch. It happened that, after the French war, the pauperism of Holland was enormously increased ; and the worthy general could think of no better method of serving his country, when the war was over, than that of bringing out the unemployed poor, and helping them to cultivate the waste land of the country. The place where Frederiksoord now exists was all heath. Here he brought a number of poor families. He resolved that they should learn agriculture, and he hoped that in a few years they would be able to earn a living here. They began by building houses, and by culti-

vating the land. The general undertook to give work all the year round to those who were willing to do it. He was inspired by two excellent ideas—that of decreasing the pauperism, and that of cultivating the heath. At first the work was chiefly agricultural ; the crops being rye, buck-wheat, oats, and potatoes. Afterwards the art of weaving was introduced, so that they might have employment in the winter. Then the arts of basket making and fruit preserving were added, for the sake of giving employment to the young members of the community, who were not otherwise occupied. And so the good work grew, until to-day the estate comprises no less than 5000 acres of land. There are six large model farms, which find employment for 90 labourers and a part of their families ; and there are 224 small farms, each of which not only supports a family, but which contributes, in addition, an annual sum, by way of rent, towards the maintenance of the new arrivals and the infirm. There have also been erected two Protestant churches, with dwellings for the ministers ; one Roman Catholic church, with a dwelling for the priest ; and a Jewish synagogue, with a dwelling for the teacher. There are also five schools for the education of children, each capable of holding about a hundred and twenty scholars ; and the internal arrangements and appliances for teaching seemed to me to be equal to those of our best English board schools. There is also a kind of college for gardening. My visit to this institution

was most interesting. We entered upon a tract of land, comprising six and a quarter acres, opposite the house of Dr. Löhnis, where a specimen of every flower, and herb, and shrub, and tree, which I had ever seen before, appeared to be cultivated. The plants were named, with the localities and soils in which they flourished best. It was raining ; therefore no outdoor work was being done. We entered the college, to find twelve young men seated at desks, with drawing boards and painting materials. They saluted us respectfully when we entered, and the teacher explained to me that he had given the lads the outline of an imaginary estate, and had required them to copy the outline, and then to make a design of their own for the laying out of the land as a gentleman's residence and landscape garden. I looked over the designs, and found that every one was unique. Some had placed the house in one part of the estate, and some in another. Some had introduced a lake, some a copse, some a lawn with flower-beds, and some a terrace, which the others had not. It was an excellent lesson. We next saw the dried botanical specimens of leaves and flowers which the lads had prepared. After this we went into the hothouses, where we found grapes growing not only with their roots in a bed outside the house, but a number of vines also growing in pots down the centre of the house, and with the advantage that the grapes thus grown were more than a fortnight earlier than those grown in the ordinary

manner. The teacher also pointed out to us some peaches growing up the wall of the house, which at first caused him trouble, because the soil was trodden upon in some places to such an extent that the water ran off the surface of the land, instead of penetrating to the roots. The footpath could not be closed, and so he had inserted five earthenware tubes, about fourteen inches long, into the ground, which went down to the roots of each of the trees, and he poured the water down the tubes, and found that the plan answered admirably not only for watering purposes, but that it was also a better plan to pour liquid manure down these tubes than to dig about the roots and thus disturb or break the slender fibres, by means of which a large part of the nutriment of the plant is absorbed.

This college for gardening has only been open two years. Every year six of the cleverest boys in the schools on the estate are selected for a three years' course of study in this practical school. There are thus twelve boys in the gardener's college, but after the present year there will always be eighteen students maintained at the expense of the estate. The average population, during the last ten years, has been 1800 persons, divided into 90 families of labourers, 224 families of independent farmers, and 120 orphans and aged, boarded by the different families. On the 1st of January, 1886, the population was 1754.

At first, when a man with a family is admitted on

the estate, he is chiefly occupied as a labourer on one of the six model farms, or in the woods, and for this work a weekly wage is paid to him. A small house, and a garden of about half an acre in extent, is also given to him. If he has any household furniture of his own he brings it with him ; if he has none, the director furnishes his house. When he has distinguished himself by his industry and good conduct, and has learnt the art of agriculture, he is removed to one of the farms. Here he is entirely independent. He has now two and a half hectares, which is equal to about seven acres of land, which he must farm on his own account, for which he must pay an annual rent, varying from twenty guilders to seventy-five guilders, according to the value of the land. For the first year or two there is generally a struggle for existence ; then follow the years of steadily increasing prosperity ; and the established "free farmers" of Frederiksoord are a class of men as fine-looking and contented as any I saw in the Netherlands.

There are thus three classes of men on the estate —the free farmers, the labourers, and the incapables. The former are self-supporting and independent ; the labourers are dependent to some extent on the generosity of the society, maintained now by annual public subscriptions ; the latter are kept entirely by the society, but at a very low cost. In company with Dr. Löhnis, I visited several of the homes of the "labourers," and found that they were living comfort-

ably. We visited the house of one man who had only arrived on the estate a fortnight before, and found a certain degree of disorder ; but we also visited another —the house of an aged couple, where the half acre of land was perfectly cultivated, where the little orchard was full of fruit, the poultry-yard trim and clean, the peculiar breed of Friesland sheep, of which one is given to every “labourer,” giving its quart of milk daily, in addition to its annual yield of seven pounds of wool. This man had caught the spirit of the place, and seemed eager to show his thankfulness for the help he had received by a life of industry. In many of the labourers’ dwellings I found that the mistress of the cottage had taken either an orphan to tend, or some sick person to nurse. For those who are sick the director pays two or three guilders a week, and one and a half guilder for every orphan. A guilder is worth one shilling and eightpence.

None are ever compelled to leave the estate at Frederiksoord except for drunkenness and immorality. The rule is, that if a man be found drunk three times he must leave. During the directorate of Dr. Löhnis, which has lasted now for ten years, none have been turned away for this cause. Some have been found drunk once, and some twice ; but none three times. Four persons have been sent away during the last ten years, out of a population of 1800, because they have had illegitimate children.

Later in the day we visited the dairy. I have

already explained that there are six large farms, managed by the Philanthropic Society, where the 90 "labourers" are taught and employed. The produce of milk from these farms is brought to the dairy, along the canals; and although only one man, one woman, and one maid are employed here, they contrive to manufacture every week 280 kilos of butter, which is equal to 560 lb., and 700 lb. of cheese. All the butter made on the large farms at Frederiksoord is sold to the Jewish community at Amsterdam. It is part of the religious belief of the orthodox Jew, that if he were beguiled by his grocer into tasting butterine, he would be guilty of an unpardonable sin, and his soul would be in jeopardy. Now, tons of butterine are manufactured every week in Holland, and the Jews of Amsterdam were so uncomfortable in consequence, that they entered into a contract to pay a good price for butter and cheese to the director of Frederiksoord, on the sole condition of being supplied with the genuine article. A long-bearded Jew, who was exiled from Russia, lives, therefore, at Frederiksoord, and watches the manufacture on behalf of the synagogue at Amsterdam. We next visited the fruit-preserving works, where I saw about thirty women preparing carrots for preservation; a few tinsmiths were also occupied making the cans to hold them. All kinds of fruit are here preserved in their own season, and in all kinds of ways. We next visited the workshops, where boys and young men are occupied in the manu-

facture of baskets, chairs, tables, mats, and straw hats. Rushes and willows suitable for these purposes are found abundantly in the low meadows. Work for fifty is found in this department. The weaving of many fabrics is also carried on in another factory ; but, unfortunately, by hand-loom, which is a great waste of human labour. The director protested, however, that it would be impossible to find work enough to occupy everybody if they did not continue the old-fashioned, slow-going, methods. The threshing of the grain is also done by flails, but it is done to the detriment of the establishment. If they adopted the most expeditious manner of weaving and threshing, they would have the labour of many liberated hands, to begin producing some new article of use or for sale, since they are in the habit of selling many things at Frederiksoord. It is a poor, blind policy—this of merely making work, which is not educational or necessary. And it seems to me that so long as Frederiksoord is dependent partly upon public subscriptions it is a luxury it cannot afford. But I am loth to criticise so noble an institution ; and fear that I may be unjust in saying that it ought to endeavour to be self-supporting. It is evident, and we should always remember, that Frederiksoord is an attempt not only to give work to the unemployed, but also to protect the aged and incapable, to care for the orphans, and for the children of heartless or desperate parents ; and these latter objects are not to be accomplished

without the expenditure of money which can never be regarded in any other light than as a gift without hope of mercenary return. Two hundred and twenty-four "families of free farmers," amounting to a population of nearly fourteen hundred, are free and self-supporting, and able to pay a rent. This is absolute success; for one of the objects of the society is set forth as follows: "The principal aim of this institution is to ameliorate the condition of the working classes, by procuring them permanent work according to their individual capacities."

I carried a note of introduction from Dr. Löhnis of Frederiksoord, to the Chief Director of the Beggar Colony of Veenhuizen. The nearest railway station is Assen, and there is no regular means of communication between Assen and Veenhuizen, except a passenger boat drawn by two trotting horses, which plies to and fro daily, leaving Veenhuizen at 4 a.m., and leaving Assen at 1 p.m. The distance is equal to about twelve English miles.

I arrived at Assen about 9.30 in the morning, and set out on foot for Veenhuizen. The road lies along the banks of canals, and for the first half of the journey there are pleasant and quaintly named cottages with gardens, at short intervals. Now and again we met a dog-cart, two or three dogs trotting along conveying their master and his wares to some distant town, the dogs wagging their tails and evi-

dently happy in the thought of their usefulness. Gradually the houses become less frequent, and for the last six miles the canal and the road are bounded on either side as far as the eye can reach by a flat bleak stretch of moorland. Arrived at Veenhuizen, all this is suddenly changed. Fair meadows and fertile gardens, waving corn fields and blooming potato beds make it hard to believe that the "beggar colonies" were once a trackless waste, worse than the last six miles of the journey hither. But this is the fact.

The utilization of the labour of beggars has converted an enormous estate from a wild waste into a garden ; from a deserted plain into a home of industry ; and, strange to say, a home of contentment.

Veenhuizen, in the province of Drenthe, and Ommerschans, in the province of Overissel, are both places of this description, both the property of the Dutch Government, and both beggar colonies.

Immediately on entering the estate, which had no visible barriers likely to prevent escape, I found the inhabitants wearing a kind of mealy-coloured cloth, a mixture of woollen and cotton ;—a mixture which always has the effect of wasting both good wool and good cotton. They also wore the wooden shoes common amongst the peasantry, both in Germany and in Holland. The cloth is woven on the estate, and is adopted as a prison dress, because of its peculiar colour. But all other things required on the estate, are similarly manufactured by the inhabitants.

I was most courteously entertained by Count van Limburg Stirum, governor of Number Three Establishment, who devoted the whole afternoon to me, showing me every kind of industry and agriculture carried on by the people. There are three establishments at Veenhuizen. The first is for women; the second is for men, who have been trained to perform the more difficult kinds of handicraft, such as smiths and cabinet-makers; the third is for men who have been accustomed more particularly to agricultural pursuits; the distinction, however, is not by any means a definite one—in both the second and the third establishment, large numbers of men are employed in the making of mats and clothing, and in the weaving and finishing of coffee sacks for the Government. These sacks, and the mats, constitute the chief articles of export from the beggar colonies. The Dutch Government has retained the ownership of the land in its colonies in the East Indies. And the coffee plantations there, are conducted, not by private enterprise, but by Government officials. The coffee sacks manufactured at Veenhuizen every year, therefore, are purchased and used on the national estates at the East Indies. The inhabitants of Veenhuizen seldom attempt to escape. The overseers and officials are exceedingly considerate and polite in their dealings and conversation with the men. There is, however, a prison and solitary confinement as a last resource, for those who are very refractory, and who refuse to do their work.

This attempt at the suppression of beggars has been in operation in its present form for sixteen years, and one curious result is, that there is nearly always the same population at Veenhuizen and Ommerschans.

For the most part, the beggars do not like to be anywhere else than in these colonies. And although a very excellent attempt is made to give them a new chance in the ordinary ways of life, on their release from the colony, very few of the people avail themselves of it. In a short time they return to the beggar colony.

Every week the men are paid a small wage by way of encouragement for the work they do. It is not intended, in any sense, to be a remuneration for the work done. They all receive the bare necessities of life, and in addition, a wage which varies according to their skill and industry, from sevenpence to one shilling and eightpence a week. Two-thirds of this wage they may spend in luxuries, which are not otherwise obtainable on the estate, such as butter, tobacco, bacon, and herrings ; but one-third they must save against the day of their release, so that they need not go out into the world without money. At the end of the term this sum generally amounts to ten or twelve guelders. Twelve guelders is equal to a sovereign. Frequently the sum is spent at the nearest town ; they are found begging or found drunk in the streets ; they are arrested by the police, tried before a magistrate,

and sent back as quickly as possible to the colony, where they remain contentedly for another two years, when probably they repeat the adventure.

Count Stirum took me to see his head gardener. This man is clever at his trade, an excellent and industrious workman, and directs the labour of no less than thirty subordinate gardeners. The count asked him how he liked his work, and he replied, "Very well, indeed! I do not like to be away from here." His land was rich, and his crops plentiful. Long hedges of beech about eight feet high, at regular intervals, protected the growing crops from the gales. He seemed perfectly content. He has been in the beggar colony since the year 1866. The longest period of time during which he has been absent since then, is nine months, and this was partly due to his being sentenced for an unusually long term of imprisonment. A well-behaved man is often set at liberty before his two years have expired. This had happened frequently to the head gardener, to his intense regret. From his point of view it must seem foolish to be too virtuous; since virtue is rewarded by being driven out of Eden. Immediately on his release from Veenhuizen, the head gardener inquires into the disposition of the magistrates at the various towns, and when he arrives at a place where the magistrate is lenient in his dealing with beggars, and where he will only sentence him to two weeks' imprisonment, he deliberately walks up to a citizen and begs—some-

times he begs from the policeman himself so as to make sure of a conviction. The count informed me that the man could be ill-spared from Veenhuizen, and that whenever his period of imprisonment had elapsed, he now asked him whether he should come back soon, and that he had agreed with the man to keep open his position as head gardener, until his return. I asked the count if I might mention this curious fact in England, and he answered, "Oh yes; we make no secret of it here."

I met another gardener shortly afterwards, whose duty it was to tend the garden of one of the directors, and we entered into conversation with him. He informed us that he had been sent to Veenhuizen no less than fifteen times for begging. He also made the assertion that he preferred Veenhuizen to any other place in Holland, that he could not get on as a gardener in the cities, although he found it easy to please his masters on the estate.

In a long upper room I saw about forty hand-  
looms. The weavers were at work. Some were making cloth for men's garments, some were weaving cotton bed-sheets, some were weaving neckerchiefs, one was weaving blankets, and a large proportion were weaving the coffee sacks for the Government—the uses of which I have already explained. Whenever we entered a work-room, the occupants at once rose from their occupation, saluted us respectfully, and resumed their tasks. Forty men were employed in

another room plaiting straw and rushes and manufacturing mats of an almost endless variety.

I also visited the cow-sheds, the dairy, and the dormitories, where I saw the hammocks in which the men slept at night. Here, it seemed to me, there was some overcrowding. The ceilings were not lofty enough for the number of hammocks which the rooms contained. There was perfect cleanliness, and in other respects I have no doubt the sanitary conditions were good.

I ought not to conclude the account of my visit to this establishment without reference to a most ludicrous restriction which is laid upon the shoemakers of Veenhuizen. In Holland, so careful is Parliament of the interests of the shoe trade, that they have forbidden the inmates at Veenhuizen to make either boots or shoes. The law says they may only repair them. The law has had the following effect. When an official wants a new pair of shoes he sends an old pair to be soled. After wearing them for a day or two, he sends them back to have new uppers put upon the soles, which have only been worn for two days, and so the law is respected ; and there are casuists in Holland who contend that the law is not broken when new shoes are supplied in this way. The count informed me that they had the utmost difficulty in finding sufficient work for the men to do.

At Number Two Establishment we were joined by a member of the Dutch Parliament from Utrecht,

and in addition to workshops similar to those I have already described, we went into the smithy and fitting shop, where all kinds of iron work is done. The tools required on the estate are made and repaired here.

From the smithy we proceeded to the carpenters' workshops, where we found twenty-three carpenters employed. They were making elaborate articles of household furniture—such as chairs and sofas—which upholsterers were finishing. Others were making carpenters' tools. I saw trying-planes and smoothing-planes in a half-finished state. In another place a bookcase of excellent workmanship was half finished. But I was best pleased with the workmanship of a wardrobe which they were making for the Catholic priest who resides on the estate. It was made of oak, and had for a centre-piece the head of a fawn, carved from solid oak. I saw the man at work on this head. He was a young Dutchman, twenty-six years of age, who could perform every detail of the cabinet-maker's craft. So well pleased was I with this piece of work, that I was permitted, after an interview with the priest, to bring it home with me to England, as a sample of the work I saw actually in hand in the Veenhuizen "beggar colony."

At Number Two Establishment, building operations are going on. In one place a new school-house for the education of the children of the officers is in course of erection. In another place a larger building is in course of erection, intended for the accommoda-

tion of soldiers. All the masons, carpenters, and plasterers engaged in this work are "prisoners," who have been sent to Veenhuizen for begging or for drunkenness.

We next went through some of the hospitals, for it was found, at an early period in the history of the colony, that many of the "beggars" were really unfit for work of any kind, and that they ought to be under the care of nurses and of doctors. Consequently there are hospitals at Veenhuizen, with bright cosy rooms, surrounded always by flower gardens, with pictures on the walls, and men of pleasant countenance for attendants and nurses. One hospital through which I went was intended for the cure of a disease of the eyes, which I understood was peculiar to the Netherlands, and often ended in blindness.

Another hospital was intended for the alleviation of leprosy ; and here I saw ten men who were lepers, afflicted with a frightful disease which I am thankful to believe England is rid of. I saw a man lying in his cot who had been lingering for two years, his hands half rotted away, his eyesight utterly gone ; he was hare-lipped, and his voice nothing but a hoarse whisper ; but he told us, poor fellow, that he was a little better to-day. I made the remark that I thought we had no leprosy in England, whereupon my guide said, "Ah, but one of these lepers is an Englishman." He was a horrible sight. He had almost forgotten his native tongue. He told me, however, that he had

been to the East Indies, and had contracted the disease there ; that, finding himself in Holland, and unable to work, he had begged, and had been sent to Veenhuizen. Here the doctor had examined his hand, which he could not open, and had told him that he was a leper. I asked what work he did at the East Indies, but could not make him understand what my question was exactly. He replied twice that "he went to find his fortune," and I did not trouble him any more, beyond asking him if he had any friends living in England, to which he answered in the negative. It was late when I had finished my tour of these two establishments. I did not inspect the establishment for women, as I was informed that the work was of such kinds as I had already seen in the other two establishments. At seven o'clock in the evening I set out for Assen, where I arrived a little before ten o'clock, tired out.

And now, having directed attention to these "beggar colonies," let us dwell for a moment upon the motives of the Government in sending men to Veenhuizen and Ommerschans. In some respects it would seem that the colonies are failures. If it is the intention of the Government to cure bohemians of their begging proclivities, and teach them to love the orderly life of the common citizen, they fail ; for, to both the public of Holland and to the governors, it is well known that the population of the beggar colonies does not change much. In another way,

however, they reduce the numbers of the begging fraternity. They are not allowed to live with their wives, and they do not have children whilst undergoing this period of probation. The number of children born with bohemian tendencies in Holland is thus very much restricted.

And even if in the course of time this policy did not reduce the actual numbers of the beggar population of the realm, it is a great advantage to have the streets of the cities free from them and their questionable methods of obtaining the necessities of life.

To the average Dutchman, the "success" or "failure" of the Poor-law seems to turn upon this question: If men discharged from the colonies go back to the cities and there earn a livelihood in the ordinary ways of competition, this is the measure of its success; if they exhibit a tendency to return to the colonies, this is regarded as the measure of its failure. I have already explained, that to adopt such a line of criticism is to fall into a radical error concerning the causes of poverty,—that men, who are crowded out in the struggle for existence which prevails in the ordinary labour markets of the world, cannot be efficiently dealt with except by the substitution of co-operative labour for competitive labour. In Mr. Walter J. Sendall's report to the Local Government Board concerning the relief of the poor in Holland, dated 1876, he says, "Workhouses, in the sense in

which we understand the word, are not known in Holland; 'werk-huizen' being, as we have already seen, places where work for payment is offered, in lieu of relief, to persons in distress." Mr. Sendall then quotes a typical speech delivered in the Dutch Parliament by De heer van Rhemenshuizen, who is complaining of the efficacy of the "werk-huizen" as places of discipline.

"The House will forgive me if I bring to their notice two striking examples, drawn from my personal experience as a burgomaster. A sturdy vagabond, whom I had caused to be apprehended upon a charge of wood stealing" (he is referring to a case under the law of 1854, when prisoners were sent to the "werk-huizen" for petty criminal offences), "was sentenced to a term of confinement which he underwent at Arnhem. Upon his reporting himself to me after his discharge, I asked him if he had not now had a good lesson. 'Ah, burgomaster!' he replied, in a whining, doleful voice, much out of keeping with his name—he was named Nightingale—'the gentlemen at Arnhem were so kind to me, and I was so happy there, that if it had not been for Geertje' (Geertje was his wife) 'I would never have come back to Brummen.' The House will readily imagine that I did not venture again to prosecute, and thereby to reward, Master Nightingale for stealing faggots.

"Another example. We had exercised our right of requiring a certain family (consisting of man, wife,

and three children) to be discharged from the beggar colony, and to return to the Commune.

“The man, who was an excellent labourer, earned three florins a week ; to this the Commune added two more, to keep the family from starvation : I myself found them household necessaries.”

The statesman evidently does not perceive that the life of competition to this “excellent labourer” is a life of slavery,—that he is much more pauperised in the city than at the beggar colony. The anecdote, however, is too good to be cut short at this point.

“The man was perpetually grumbling, and telling me how he missed the good times in the beggar colony ; conduct which naturally did not tend to raise him in the estimation of the burgomaster. One fine night he packed all his household goods into a hand-cart, and started off, with wife and children, northwards, by the Zutphen steamer.

“I wrote letters to the officers of the different courts, entreating that he might not be admitted into the colony ; but all was in vain ; a few days had passed, and there sat my lazy (?) friend, surrounded by his family, safe in the home of his adoption.”

And so, although the beggar colonies, conducted as they are at present, cannot be considered a success, when regarded as a means of converting individuals from beggary to competitive life ; yet, judged from another standpoint, there are two ways by which, as I have explained, it has tended to check beggary,

destitution, and indiscriminate almsgiving. A very slight change in the policy of the beggar colonies might make them far more effective than they are at present. There is no reason why they should not permit men to remain and work for their livelihood in the colonies when they express the desire to do so. The experience of the governors since 1870 tends to show that there is a class of the population which cannot earn a living under competitive conditions, but which is willing enough to work and to become independent under co-operative conditions. The charitable experiment at Frederiksoord is much nearer the true solution of the problem of poverty than the Government beggar colonies of Veenhuizen and Ommerschans. Both experiments are, however, far ahead of anything we have attempted in England.

The financial aspect of the beggar colonies, although not self-supporting, is very good. The whole of the establishment at Veenhuizen and Ommerschans cost the Government 350,000 guelders a year, which is equal to £29,166 13s. 4d. There are 3000 men and women to keep ; many of whom are too old to work, many of whom are too ill. Out of this sum of money, therefore, hospitals are maintained ; the wages of officers and of soldiers are paid ; books are purchased for the free library ; Catholic and Protestant clergymen and their churches are maintained on the estate.

But it should also be remembered that the beggar colonies have never yet attempted, in a rational

manner, to become self-supporting. They are forbidden to manufacture a multitude of things. It is feared that the effects of their labour would be injurious to competition outside. This restriction makes them purchase articles which they might make for themselves ; and the governors informed me, with persistent unanimity, that it was difficult to find sufficient work to occupy the men on the estate. And even in the manufactures which are permitted, there is no such thing as a labour-saving machine on the whole estate, so far as I saw. There is no steam-power anywhere, not even so much as a windmill or a water-wheel. Everything is done by hand or treadle. I saw an iron-worker's lathe which two men were turning by hand. It appears plainly that everything on the estate has been subordinated to the one idea of finding and making work. The possibility of the beggar colonies ever becoming self-supporting does not seem to have entered the Dutch imagination, except at rare intervals, and even then it has appeared as an impossible vision too hopeless to strive after. And yet, in spite of all their hindrances—many of which are removable—they keep their beggar population of 3000 men and women and all the officials at an annual cost of £29,166 to the Government. It would cost five times as much in England, governed as we are at present. If only the Dutch beggars were allowed to utilize good machinery, so as to increase the efficiency of the labourer—to introduce the threshing machine, the

windmill, and the power-loom—and so increase the value of the week's work to the extent of an additional three shillings and eightpence per head of the workers, the beggar colonies of Holland would be entirely self-supporting, notwithstanding their hospitals, their aged, and their soldiers.

My third visit was paid to the Hague and Scheveningen, the former being the capital and the latter a kind of sea-coast suburb, twenty minutes' walk distant from the Hague, with a promenade which faces the North Sea.

I inquired for the parish workhouse, but found that in all Holland there was nothing which resembled the English workhouse. "Surely," said I to my friend M. Vervloet at the Hague, "surely there are some destitute people in this city?"

"We have an almshouse, which is supported by the city, for the aged who have no religion," he replied; "but for the most part the poor are assisted by the various churches. Our taxes on account of the poor are very slight indeed."

He then presented me with a copy of an annual account of the expenditure of the rates and taxes for the Hague and Scheveningen, published on March 12, 1886, from which I gathered the following information: That the churches of the Netherlands have never relinquished their charge of the poor. Every church has its own poor to support, and most of them

have an almshouse for the aged. If a man in the city is destitute, he makes a statement to that effect to the parish authorities, who ask him which church he belongs to. If he is a Lutheran, for example, he says so ; and if he holds a document which proves it, he is sent to the Lutheran Church, and that church must help him at its own cost. If he hold no document, and his statement concerning his religion be unverified, then he is sent to the Lutheran Church for help, but the church receives a small allowance from the parish on his account. It should be remembered, however, that the Netherland towns are very greatly relieved of their poor by the fact that large numbers are supported by their own labours at Frederiksoord, at Veenhuizen, and at Ommerschans. In this way the 649 costly workhouses, characteristic of the English poor-law, are rendered unnecessary.

I. The first table concerning the poor of the Hague, published in the "Verslag," is one which gives the number of the poor who were sent to the various churches for outdoor relief; and for whom the churches received help from the parish during 1885 : this is exclusive of those who received money for travelling purposes ; that is to say, the cost of transport of men and women who come from France and Germany and neighbouring kingdoms, who are destitute, and are sent back over the frontier.

## OUTDOOR RELIEF GIVEN TO THE POOR THROUGH THE CHURCHES.

ASSISTED ALL THE YEAR.		ASSISTED TEMPORARILY.		TOTAL.	
Families.	Persons.	Families.	Persons.	Families.	Persons.
417	848	170	614	587	1452

The next table describes the division of these destitute people amongst the various Churches of the city.

	Families.	Persons.
Reformed Dutch Church at the Hague ...	310	728
"    ", Scheveningen ...	172	464
Roman Catholic Church ...	95	230
Evangelical Lutheran Church ...	7	16
The Old Catholic Church ...	1	2
The Jewish Synagogue ...	2	12
Total ... ... ...	587	1452

II. The indoor relief of the city for the year 1885 was as follows :—

	Men.	Women.	Total.
Numbers at the beginning of the year ...	46	51	97
Which were augmented during the year thus ...	12	8	20
At the end of the year the total would have been ...	58	59	117
But during the year the deaths were ...	9	10	19
And these asked permission to leave the house ...	1	2	3
And these left without permission ...	2	1	3
	12	13	25
So that the actual total on December 31, 1885, receiving indoor relief was ...	46	46	92

This shows a diminution of five paupers in the city for the year 1885. The 117 paupers named in the above table were distributed amongst the Churches as follows :—

Dutch Reformed Church	...	...	...	90
Roman Catholic Church	...	...	...	19
Evangelical Lutheran Church	...	...	...	5
Old Catholic Church	...	...	...	2
German Evangelical Church	...	...	...	1
				—
				117

These are the destitute and, for the most part, the aged, who have not a document to prove that they are members of the Churches named, and therefore the community pays for their support. The cost to the city for the maintenance of the poor during the year was as follows :—

Food	...	...	...	...	<i>fr.</i> 4613·65½
Clothes and furniture	...	...	...	...	878·98
Fire and light	...	...	...	...	554·06
Other things	...	...	...	...	262·22½
Cost of management	...	...	...	...	1580·54½
					—
Total	...	...	...	<i>fr.</i>	7889·46½
				or <i>£</i>	657 10s.

The number of men who received a day's relief during the year was 33,941. The daily cost was 23½ cents per head (less than fivepence) per day. In other words, the average cost of the paupers for the year 1885 was 2s. 8½d. per head per week, and this includes the cost of management. In England the average

cost, including management, is from seven to eight shillings per week. The contrast between the English and Dutch system is more striking, perhaps, when regarded thus—

The average annual cost of a Dutch pauper is £7 1s. 5d.  
The average annual cost of an English pauper is £21.

III. In various almshouses there were also 128 deserted children and 16 infirm persons, who were kept there at the expense of the community as follows :—

	Men.	Women.	Children.	Total.
In the almshouse of the Dutch Reformed Church	—	—	20	20
"    "    Roman Catholic Church	—	—	8	8
"    "    Dutch Reformed Church}	—	—	7	7
at Scheveningen ... ... ... ...	—	—	7	7
In the House of Philanthropy (Roman Catholic)	—	—	7	7
In the Agricultural Colony for boys, founded by "Mettray"	—	—	4	4
In the Home for little girls abandoned by their parents ... ... ... ...	—	—	2	2
Aged persons and children boarded in the cottages of the inhabitants of the Hague, at the expense of the parish ... ... ... ...	6	10	80	96
	6	10	128	144

We are further informed by the "Verslag" that the parish authorities at the Hague have been paying a contribution towards the support of five families living on the estate at Frederiksoord ; but during the year four of these have become "free farmers ;" they are now self-supporting, and there is nothing to be paid

for them. We are also informed that there is an aged woman living at Frederiksoord with her relatives, towards whose support the parish authorities at the Hague pay an annual subsidy. Altogether the sum paid to the directors of Frederiksoord last year was £20 1s. 7½d. In the preceding year the amount thus paid was £27 14s. 10d. The "Verslag" further states that an aged woman, named M. E. Bouwman, has died during the year, who had been kept thirty-five years by the parish. Then follows the honourable mention of a list of the doctors who have generously given medical assistance to the poor ; they first having received a document from the parish to show that they were unable to pay for medical aid. We have next a brief reference to the hospitals ; and with this, the account of the year's help to the poor is brought to a close.

## CHAPTER XII.

## CO-OPERATION.

“1. That human society is a brotherhood, not a collection of warring atoms.

“2. That true workers should be fellow-workers, not rivals.

“3. That a principle of justice, and not selfishness, should regulate exchanges.”—F. D. MAURICE, *Principles of a Society for Promoting Working Men's Associations*.

“Judge as ye will my cause this hour,  
Yours is the power.

\* \* \* \* \*

I know what mightiest seems to-day

Shall pass away,

Time than your rule is stronger,  
The Eternal Good I rather choose,  
And fearless all for this I lose,

God help me thus to conquer.”

QUEEN MARIA OF HUNGARY'S *Song*, 1526.

I HAVE frequently used the word “co-operation,” and I attach a meaning to the word which is so much nobler than that ordinarily attached to it, that for some time I intended to emphasize my thought by calling this book “The New Co-operation.” It is a grand word. To me it expresses the Will of God

amongst men in daily life. To me it stands for the brotherhood of men. It is the one word which I see written across the sky on the morning of promise, which is to herald that—

“Sweet reign of light and love”

for which we pray, and for which we strive as our heart's desire. Literally, it signifies a friendly working together, as opposed to our present social system, which involves a large amount of “working against” each other.

Co-operation, as yet, is only in its infancy. Two kinds have been attempted: first, co-operation in productive enterprise; and, second, co-operation in the distribution of produce. The latter has been successful; the former has been in a large measure a failure. Where it has failed, it has not been in consequence of the discovery of any flaw in the co-operative principle, but rather the discovery of difficulties which at present stand in the way of applying co-operation to productive enterprise. The best of these attempts have never yet been anything better than joint-stock companies. I deny their claim to the title co-operative, because these joint-stock companies, when they have been in the same trade, have had a kind of interest in *working against* each other, and no interest in each other's welfare. And because co-operative distributive societies have not had this malicious interest, but rather have taken pleasure in each other's good fortune, I regard them as more truly co-operative

than the former. I am confident that real co-operative productive enterprise cannot be entered into on any other lines than those laid down in this book, because in no other way can they shake off the coils of competition.

The idea of co-operative productive enterprise was first conceived as a means of securing better wages for working-men ; it was regarded as a substitute for strikes. The workman had learnt that, in the increase of wealth, labour is one of the chief factors ; that a ton of pig-iron being worth about £2, a ton of manufactured steel needles is worth between £2000 and £3000. Realizing the importance of labour in the production of wealth, the workman saw the possibility of improving his circumstances. He realized the contradiction of the present system ; its communism of production, its individualism in the distribution of the wealth thus produced. He realized the truth that there ought to be a joint participation in the product, as there is already a joint participation in the work. The conflict between capital and labour had grown wearisome. Much useless suffering had been entailed upon both masters and workmen ; and at last it was decided to introduce an entirely new organization. The labourer was to become his own capitalist, and receive as remuneration the whole produce, *minus* interest on borrowed capital or insurance against risk. "Co-operation" at the outset, and in this narrow sense, meant that capital should be

subscribed by the labourers and devoted to the purchase of raw material, machinery, and other requisites necessary for carrying on a productive concern in which the holders of the capital were to be themselves employed. In this way they set themselves free from one kind of competition—the competition of workmen one against another ; of workmen bidding as at an auction, and offering themselves at lower and lower wages, for the privilege of being employed. They succeeded in putting a check upon the operation of the "iron law of wages." Wages did not tend so steadily as heretofore towards the starvation limit. But now that they were their own employers they found that they could not free themselves from the competition which exists amongst employers—competition in the sale of their produce. This obstacle was the cause of their ruin. For, as regards this kind of competition, events proved that they had injured themselves. They were obliged to sell their produce somehow ; and, in the produce market, it was found that the private capitalist had great advantages over the manager of the co-operative concern. The latter was at a disadvantage, because he suffered from divided councils and authorities. Co-operators were never willing to pay salaries to their managers at the rate paid by private firms, and they often secured men unskilled in the observation of the markets—men who bought and sold both at the wrong time and in the wrong place. It was also found that the manager did

not develop such an intense personal interest in the prosperity of his concern as did the private capitalist.

And so, although the workers did not any longer compete against each other in the matter of wages—being their own employers—yet their disadvantages of management and in the sale of their produce were so serious that many of these concerns failed.

Professor Adamson, in a lecture delivered in the Owen's College, Manchester, on February 22, 1878, said, "There are various difficulties in the way of co-operative production : productive enterprise, to be successful, requires a market of known extent, *i.e.* the producer must know when and where to find a purchaser, and the probable extent of the demand ; as this is not always possible, there must frequently be times of slackness and depression, which will act with peculiar force on the co-operative workmen if their wages are altogether depending on the sale of produce. . . . I should think that co-operation would be most applicable to the production of those commodities for which there is a steady, quiet, and constant demand, *as, for example, the necessities of life.*"

Professor Adamson's opinion on this point is corroborated by Edmond About,\* who says also, that the working-men who dream of emancipating themselves by means of co-operative production would do well to select "industries in which manual labour is

\* See "Handbook of Social Economy," p. 238. Chapman & Hall.

more required than capital. They should carefully avoid those where capital furnishes ninety-five parts out of a hundred, and manual labour five—like upholstering, for instance. They should give the preference to those where man's labour adds a considerable value to materials of little worth."

M. Emile Laurent has given the history of an association which began with a capital of two shillings. "A log of wood was bought with this capital, which was sold for seven or eight shillings; with this sum several logs were bought. This society is at present one of the largest in Paris for the manufacture of lasts."

Working spectacle-makers produce sixty shillings' worth of work out of fifteen shillings' worth of raw materials. In their case manual labour adds seventy-five per cent. to the value of the product. As they were in an excellent condition for forming themselves into a co-operative society, they also have been entirely successful in Paris. The trade of the chair-turners, like that of the last-makers and spectacle-makers, adds a considerable extra value to the raw materials. A co-operative society formed by chair-turners in 1848 had a membership of seven hundred, and endured for eighteen years.

But the society of co-operative masons in Paris, like the distribution pioneers of Rochdale, is one of the best examples of productive enterprise. This is a union of eighty workmen. The new Orleans Railway

Station is the result of their handiwork. The masons of the Rue St. Victoire are admirably controlled ; but they have taken such care always to elect excellent men for their presidents that it is probable that success is as much a result of good government as anything else.

Mazzini \* gives an account of a French industrial association which is exceedingly interesting : " In 1848 the delegates of some hundreds of workmen who had united together with the idea of establishing a pianoforte manufactory upon the associative principle, finding that a large capital was necessary for their undertaking, applied to the Government for a loan of 300,000 francs. The application was refused ; the association was dissolved ; but fourteen workmen determined to overcome every obstacle, and reconstitute it out of their own resources. They had neither money nor credit ; they had faith.

" They initiated their society with a capital consisting of tools and instruments of labour of the value of about two thousand francs. But a floating capital was indispensable.

" Each of these workmen contrived, not without great difficulty, to contribute 10 francs, and other workmen not belonging to their society added some little offerings to swell their capital. On the 10th of March, 1849, having collected the sum of 229 francs 50 cents, the association was declared to be founded.

\* See Mazzini's "Duties of Man," p. 379. H. King & Co.

But their little social fund was insufficient for the cost of starting and the small daily incidental expenses of their establishment. Nothing remained for wages, and two months passed without the members of the association receiving a single cent in remuneration for their labour. How did they subsist during this time of crisis? As working-men do subsist in periods when they are without work—through help given by their comrades, and by selling or pawning their goods.

“ Some orders, however, had been executed, and these were paid for on the 4th of May, 1849. That day was to the association what the first victory is in war, and they determined to celebrate it. Having paid all urgent debts, each associate received a sum of 6 francs 61 cents. It was agreed that each should keep 5 francs, and that the remainder should be spent in a fraternal banquet. The fourteen members, most of whom had not tasted wine for more than a year, sat down to a common dinner with their families. The cost was 32 sous a family. For another month their wages only reached five francs a week. In June, however, a baker, either a lover of music or a speculator, proposed to buy a pianoforte from them, and pay for it in bread. The offer was accepted, and the price agreed upon was 480 francs. This was a piece of good fortune for the association, which was thus secure of the first necessary of life.

“ The price of the bread was not considered in the wages of the members. Each man received the

amount necessary for his own consumption, and the married men enough for their families.

“ By degrees, the association, the members of which were very clever workmen, surmounted the obstacles and privations of the first period of its existence. Their books gave excellent testimony to their progress. In the month of August the weekly earnings of each member rose from 10 to 15 and 20 francs ; nor did this represent the whole of their profits, for each member paid into the common fund a weekly contribution larger than the sum he withdrew as wages for his own use.

“ On the 30th of December, 1850, the books of the association revealed the following encouraging facts : The members at that date amounted to 320, the establishment was paying 2000 francs per annum for rent, and their premises were already too small for their business. The value of the tools, etc., belonging to the society was 5922 francs 66 cents. The value of their goods and raw material amounted to 22,972 francs 28 cents. The cash-box for the society contained bills for 3540 francs. Open credits, almost all good, amounted to 5861 francs 99 cents.

“ The society only owed 4737 francs 80 cents of ordinary business debts, and 1650 francs to 80 well-wishers to the association among working-men in the same trade, for small loans advanced to the association at its commencement.

“ The net balance in favour of the society was

therefore 32,930·02 francs. Since then the association has never ceased to flourish."

This noble effort at emancipation, which won the admiration of Mazzini—heroic as it was, and successful to a certain degree—must not be regarded as a perfect example of co-operation. It is evident that there was no rivalry amongst the ordinary workmen and the co-operative workmen in the same trade ; on the contrary, the former were magnanimous enough to subscribe money at the outset to supply the necessities of the co-operators. The fact, however, remains that their interests were not identical. So long as both groups of workmen are making pianos for the same market, there must be competition, although in this instance it seems not to have been powerful enough to destroy their good-fellowship. Co-operative production can never set itself free from the malice of competition, until it begins to produce articles for its own use, and not for sale, and to be content therewith. And this principle in the long run will prove itself to be the truest economy and the noblest method of education, as well as the system most conducive to the brotherhood of man. In this way will our industrial organization co-operate with the progressive tendency of the race, and, as Tennyson says, we shall

“Arise and fly  
The reeling faun, the sensual feast ;  
Move upward, working out the beast,  
And let the ape and tiger die.”

Co-operative production, although it has not yet cast off the obstacles and limitations of the mere joint-stock company, has not been such a complete failure as it is sometimes represented. On many sides it gives tokens of promise. In the town of Oldham there are seventy-five "co-operative" spinning-mills, with a capital of £5,000,000. They are managed entirely by working-men ; their capital is contributed in £5 shares by working-men ; and they have, during the last twelve years, paid dividends varying from ten to forty-five per cent. I believe that one or two of them have "failed" recently ; and in one of the mills something very much like a strike occurred, if newspapers are to be trusted. Nevertheless, their success has been sufficient to verify all Mr. Sedley Taylor's hopes of industrial partnerships \* as a means of diminishing waste, and promoting the welfare of the workmen, and of securing a more equitable distribution of wealth. For, in spite of "strikes" and "failures," the working classes of Oldham enjoy a degree of comfort which is very uncommon in England to-day. It has been stated that there are a thousand operatives working at these mills who are worth £1000 to £2000 each. Moreover, there are in Oldham co-operative stores, building societies, and other working class companies, having a combined capital of £3,500,000.

\* See "The Participation of Labour" (London, 1881) and "Profit-sharing between Capital and Labour" (Cambridge, 1882).

This account of modern co-operative experiments in productive enterprise would not be complete without some reference to "The Association of the *Familistère*," at Guise, in France, established by M. Godin. This association inhabits a vast palace having 1100 windows. The building, or *Familistère* as it is called, is composed of three parallelograms, with cellars, a ground floor, and three stories. It has a school-room, a reading-room, a nurse-room, a swimming bath, a laundry, and a library of 3000 volumes. Near to the *Familistère* there is a large workshop where the workers of the association are employed in the production of apparatus for heating purposes, and articles of furniture. These works occupy no less than 1400 persons. It is a prosperous undertaking, and the people who reside here are free from many of the evils of ordinary competitive life. They have exceptional advantages which come through their combined family life. But all that they produce is produced for sale. When the wages of other labourers in the same trade are reduced theirs must also be reduced ; and the method of production, if more generally applied, would not tend to reduce the numbers of those, who, (owing to the introduction of labour-saving machinery under competitive conditions, and for other reasons) are necessarily and unwillingly unemployed.

It is a curious fact that, although Robert Owen was the founder of co-operation, and believed most of all in agricultural labour as the best sphere for co-

operative enterprise, very few experiments have been tried in this direction. The work of distribution,—in which the English societies have attained nearest to the true ideal, is an affair with which Robert Owen himself would not have been contented. Recently, however, in various parts of England, co-operative farms have been organized. One of these is the Radbourne Manor Association Farm, in the neighbourhood of Leamington, on the estate of Mr. Bolton King.

At the Co-operative Congress, held at Derby in 1884, Mr. David Johnson, the manager of this farm, gave an address on “Association Farming.”\* He began as follows :—

“ The association farm that we are on is not at all favourably situated ; it is six and a half miles from the nearest railway station, and twelve miles from the nearest market town. In fact, we have nothing in our favour but the principle under which we work. We have no advantages to help us in our success. It is just such a start in co-operative farming that you would say to yourselves, ‘ If it prospers here, it will anywhere.’ ”

“ I will give a short and true statement of the condition of the farm. When we began, I took a written statement of every field, yard, and all belongings when we entered on it. The ploughed or arable land was foul with switch and weeds—as bad as land could be.

\* “Association Farming,” published by the Central Co-operative Board, Manchester.

The hedges ran wild, and the ditches and brooks were full of mud ; consequently the drains were stopped. New draining had to be done, and, where practicable, the old drains taken up, cleaned, and put in again. All our land and grass was foul with rushes, thistles, and rough grass. A large quantity of ant-banks were on the pasture land. The arable, pasture, and meadow land was completely worn out and water-logged.

" The buildings, fences, yards, etc., were in a very dilapidated state—so bad that I do not think a farm could be worse. People said it would never be worth cultivating again. Most of my associates have to walk about two and half miles night and morning.

" Now, I will give you some little idea of the sort of soil we have to contend with. It is commonly called very strong clay land, the heaviest working land that can be found. It is blue lias clay, a very tenacious soil—just the kind that all agricultural writers have been writing down for some years, being quite unanimous that such land is not worth cultivating. I was told so many times during the first year. . . . This lost farm is now in a thorough state of cultivation. I must say, too, that it stands in a good financial position. If we have not much money at our banker's, we are improving the farm very much, and, under our agreement, that is quite as good to us. . . . The greater part of us were on the said farm one year and nearly ten months before it became an association farm. Our landlord agreed to give us a

share of the profits a year before, should there be any, but we did not expect any, it being in such a very bad state; so, therefore, none of us were disappointed when we got none.

"The association took Radbourne Manor Farm on a yearly tenancy, from September 29, 1883, and pay a rent of £356 (about £1 an acre) by half-yearly payments. The association hired from Mr. Bolton King, our landlord, stock and implements to the value of £3304, and borrowed cash to the value of £200, and pay 6 per cent. interest on both. The management of the farm is in the hands of a committee, which consists of the manager and two other members, who are elected yearly from among the labourers, by a majority of the votes of all the members present at a meeting to be called for the purpose as soon as possible after September 29th in each year. Outgoing members of committee are re-eligible; other persons may be similarly elected members. The net profits shall be calculated at the end of each year. Of these profits, 20 per cent. shall go to a reserve fund, till such fund has reached the sum of £800; 40 per cent. shall be paid to our landlord towards the purchase of the stock and implements, until all such are the property of the association; of the rest, 15 per cent. shall be paid to the manager, and 25 per cent. to the remainder of the members in proportion to the wages they have received during the year. The accounts shall be kept by the committee of management, and

shall be open to the inspection of any of the members or our landlord. Members retiring voluntarily shall be entitled not only to their share at the next division of profits, but to their share of the reserve fund (if any), and of all other property of the association. All fines to be deducted from wages. Any difference respecting the meaning of these rules to be referred to an impartial arbitrator.

“Our agreement secures landlord and tenants. The landlord is secured against dilapidations, and the tenants for unexhausted manures, etc., as the valuers or arbitrators can agree.

“Now, I will give you as good an idea of our financial affairs as possible. It is too early yet to say much about this, but I will say that we have taken everything into account, and we feel quite satisfied that we shall make a profit, and very much improve the farm. We have money to satisfy all claims. Our arable land is all cropped this season with wheat, oats, barley, winter beans, spring beans, clover, mangolds, swedes, turnips, etc. The land, too, is clean now, so that we have every prospect of cropping it continuously. The extra exertion of the association’s members is doing wonders towards keeping the crops clean ; it is the extra labour, done in a much shorter time, that will add greatly to our success. We have 146 acres of arable or tillage land, and 200 of meadow and pasture. Our live stock consists of 56 ewes and 86 lambs, 43 other sheep, 27 milking and in-calf cows,

13 barren heifers, 9 steers and 1 barren cow, 3 feeding cows, 1 two-year-old bull, 1 year-old bull, 30 reared calves, 9 working horses, 1 mare and foal, 3 two-year-old cart colts, 2 three-year-old cart colts, 1 four-year-old nag colt, 3 one-year-old cart colts, 1 good nag horse and 1 jobbing horse, 3 sows and 27 pigs, 3 in-pig sows, and a large stock of poultry.

“To carry on this said association farm I have twelve associates, able-bodied men, two strong youths, and two boys. The men are paid 2s. 6d. per day; the youths 1s. 8d. per day; the boys 10d. per day. The men are paid 3s. per day in haytime and harvest, and 4d. per hour overtime; the youths and boys are paid similarly for overtime.

“Nearly all fat stock is sold at Leamington; the butter, eggs, and poultry go part to private houses at London and Leamington, and the rest to shops at Leamington at market prices, customers paying carriage.

“Our expenses during the year, from October, 1882, to October, 1883, were as follows:—

Labour, management, and commission on	£	s.	d.
dairy produce ... ... ... ...	735	6	7
Live stock ... ... ... ...	410	1	6
Implements ... ... ... ...	199	16	6
Corn, cake, hay, and straw ... ... ... ...	989	12	6
Manure ... ... ... ...	144	17	5
Rates, taxes, and insurance ... ... ... ...	38	18	11
Tradesmen's bills ... ... ... ...	212	15	8
			—
	£2731	9	1

"The manure and labour bills are heavy; otherwise this may be taken as average yearly expenses. Add for rent £356, and for interest on capital £210 4s. 9 $\frac{1}{2}$ d., and our yearly expenses should amount to about £3300 at the most."

It is, of course, too soon to say whether or not this experiment has been successful in improving the circumstances of the farm labourer. The tendency of such experiments, if tried under favourable conditions, will doubtless be beneficial in many ways. But it is not too soon to say whether or not the experiment can properly be called a co-operative farm. It ought obviously to be called a joint-stock farm.

It is competitive, and not co-operative, in every sense except this—that the manager and the workers have a common interest in the productivity of the land. And from this point of view we may regard the experiment as a step in the direction of true co-operation. For the rest, they pay a rent for the land, which is assessed by a principle of competition, and not co-operation; the landlord's interest is directly opposed to the society's interest, the former longing for a bigger rent, the latter praying for a smaller; and they sell their produce to persons in Leamington, where the sale is conducted on competitive, and not co-operative, principles—that is to say, the purchasers have no other interest than that of obtaining the produce at the lowest possible price; the farm labourers' interest is all in the opposite direction.

When the true co-operative society is organized, the "buyers" and the "sellers" will have no conflicting interests. But this can never happen until a society is formed in which both the buyers and the sellers are united in the same undertaking—a society in which the profits both of the producer and the seller are cast into one fund, in the increase of which all the members are deeply interested.

I do not think that Robert Owen realized the great importance of the question of distribution. He saw that it was an important question. This is beyond controversy. But the full importance of the question—and particularly in England<sup>1</sup>—has not been realized, except by the more recent economists. "The present system of distribution," says Mr. Thomas Illingworth,\* "is not only unsatisfactory, but unjust, because betwixt producer and consumer are a number of unnecessary and costly intermediaries, which raise the price of commodities against the consumer, and therefore limit consumption, depress wages and capital employed in production, and which, by reason of the barriers they set up against free competition, rob the consumer of what, in an economic system of distribution, would be the natural or minimum prices, and the producer of that which in the primitive condition was his inalienable right—the full reward of his labour and product of his industry. . . . Economy in production is a science. Com-

\* "Distribution Reform," pp. 54, 55.

petition is so keen, profits in manufactures of all kinds have gravitated to the minimum or altogether vanished. Manufacturers fight against a trifling increase of wages, the slightest increase in railway rates, or the smallest addition whatsoever to the cost of production, as a matter of life and death ; *but between the prices at which they have to sell their goods to the wholesale distributors and the prices which the consumer pays to the retailer, there is a margin of at least fifty per cent.*, affording a wide field for economic treatment, to the great advantage and harmonious working of our industrial system, to capitalist and labourer as producers, and the whole community as consumers."

Now, this evil has been fairly met and subdued by the co-operative stores for distributive purposes. In the town of Accrington, for example, members of the co-operative society purchase thus the whole of their household requisites—their groceries and butcher's meat, and drapery, and tailoring work, their millinery and dressmaking, their furniture and coals, their boots, shoes, and clogs. For many years past, in addition to the advantage of supplying their members with the very best articles obtainable at the ordinary prices, they have paid a dividend of nearly three shillings in the pound to all members on the amount of their purchases ; that is to say, every family spending at the stores a sum of £60 per annum has had a return made of about £9 per annum. And this has been done in addition to providing a number of

excellent reading-rooms in various parts of the town, and good libraries open to the members, and making a grant of about £400 annually towards a course of scientific week-night classes. There are peculiar legal difficulties in Accrington in the way of purchasing small plots of land. The cost of transfer is unusually high, owing to the peculiarity of tenure which prevails. And yet I do not think there is another town in England where so many working-men are the owners of the houses in which they live. And this fact is accompanied by another which is even more interesting—that those men who thus live in their own houses are almost invariably members of the co-operative society.

In another place \* Mr. Illingworth, in an excellent manner, summarizes the question of distribution thus : "The population of Great Britain and Ireland is 36,000,000. Suppose the average consumption of food, clothing, and furniture is only £20 per head, the total yearly consumption at retail prices is therefore £720,000,000. I am certainly under rather than over the mark when I say that the cost of distributing the vast amount of goods represented by this sum is not less than 33½ per cent., or one-third of the total sum ; in other words, the cost of distribution is £240,000,000 a year.

"In the returns of the Central Co-operative Board we have sufficient data whereon to base a calculation

\* "Distribution Reform," p. 111.

of the necessary cost of distribution. In the Manchester District Co-operative Association there are 32 societies, with 92 branches, giving a total of 124 shops or stores. In 1883, the total sales amounted to £1,264,773; the total expenses, including wages, depreciation of stock and property, interest on capital, rents, rates, and taxes, were £69,133, being equal to about five and a half per cent. on sales. The articles dealt in embraced food, clothing, furniture, and every household requisite, and, comprising 124 shops, give a fair indication of the actual necessary cost of distribution.

“Altogether the returns of 1240 retail distributive societies are given by the Central Co-operative Board. I do not know how many branches they have, but there cannot be fewer than some 2000 shops or stores. The expenses of all seem to be covered by five to six per cent. on turnover. The amount of business done is £25,000,000. Therefore, on a thirtieth part of the whole turnover of the country, we have proof that five to six per cent. is sufficient to cover the cost of distribution.

“Supposing, then, the whole of the necessaries of life were distributed by associations for the mutual benefit of producers and consumers, and supposing the turnover is £720,000,000 a year, the cost need not exceed £40,000,000, whereas it now amounts to not less than £240,000,000, there is, therefore, an unnecessary expenditure of £200,000,000 per annum.”

The reform of the English workhouses, in the direction of co-operative estates for the maintenance of the unemployed of England, could not fail to have great interest for the co-operators of this country. If the scheme were established upon the basis here laid down, it would be a divine experiment for the relief of the poor. It would be co-operative in the fullest and best sense of the word. The distribution reform which co-operators have already achieved for themselves would exert its good influences within the walls of the co-operative estates ; there would be no unnecessary middlemen, and there would be fewer carriers needed than are now required even in the best-managed co-operative societies ; for nearly all the necessaries of life retailed in the co-operative stores in England have been carried a distance of at least fifty miles before they are offered for sale. In the "co-operative estates" all this unnecessary carrying to and fro, with its inevitable waste of substance and deterioration of quality, would be avoided.

But not only in the matter of distribution should we have advantages. The greatest part of the achievement would be, that within the estate we should realize the conditions necessary to a true experiment in co-operative productive enterprise. We should not make for sale ; we should make for use ; and we should make good things, therefore. Good bread, good butter, good linen, good cloth—all our interests would be in these and such things. Cheap bread, vile butter,

inferior linen, shoddy cloth—these things are the progeny of competition. No man would make such things for his own use if he could make better. It will be found, moreover, when articles are thus made for use, and not for sale, that not only will the quality of the articles be better, but the work itself will have a more ennobling tendency upon the workpeople. They will have a direct interest in the quality of it. Thus shall we realize, as never before, the holiness, the healthfulness, both physical and moral, of work.

“Co-operation seems to me fully to deserve all the enthusiasm which has gathered about it,” says Bishop Lightfoot. “If it is successful, it will work a beneficent, social, and economical revolution of the widest scope—a revolution, moreover, so conducted as to leave no heritage of suffering and no bitterness behind.”

But, more than all, we shall be workers together, and not workers against each other. None will be sick, but we shall regard it as our common loss ; none will be idle, but we shall be sorry ; none will be industrious, but we shall rejoice. We shall be co-operators, because we are Christians ; Christians, because we have realized the brotherhood of man, and shall understand the strength and beauty of Christ’s gospel as we never understood before.

“Art and strategy,” says Dr. Martineau,\* “constitute the wisdom of those whose ends must be gained

\* “Endeavours after the Christian Life,” p. 104, by James Martineau. Longmans.

*against* the wills of others ; but are misplaced in those who act *upon* and *by* their loving and consenting mind. There is a wisdom of the understanding, arising from *foresight*, which demands policy ; there is a higher wisdom of the soul, derived from *insight*, which dispenses with it. To discern 'that which is before and after' has been pronounced the great *human* prerogative ; but to see clearly that which is *within*, is the *divine*. And this was Christ's ; the source of that majestic power by which, as the hierophant and interpreter of the Godlike in the soul, He uttered everlasting oracles. He penetrated through the film to the inner mystery and silence of our nature ; and when He spake, an instant music—as of a minster organ touched by spirits at midnight—thrilled and made a low chant within. Oh, when speech is given to a holy soul and true as His, Time, and its dome of ages, becomes as a mighty whispering-gallery, round which the imprisoned utterance runs and reverberates for ever ! ”

## CHAPTER XIII.

## SOCIALISM, DEMOCRACY, AND THE "NEW ECONOMY."

"Liberty, I am told, is a divine thing. Liberty, when it becomes the 'liberty to die by starvation,' is not so divine!"—CARLYLE.

"I write of the disciples, because He  
Who was their Master, having left on earth  
The memory of a face that none could paint,  
The echo of a voice that none could reach,  
Hath left His own immortal words and works  
To be a witness for Him. Who should dare  
To add one line or lesson unto these?  
And in this year of loss, this first blank year  
For us whom He held near and dear to Him,  
The heart is far too full to speak of thee,  
Except through speaking of thy faithful ones,  
JOSEPH MAZZINI, Master, first of those  
The sons of men who are the sons of God !

\* \* \* \* \*

Now no man fears thee : so the slanderer's voice,  
More busy with the living than the dead,  
Is turned from thee ; and men begin to praise  
Seeing thy work was wrought without their aid ;  
And eyes are lifted to behold the true  
Life-proven figure of the man who long  
Went in and out among them undiscerned.  
And though the generation is not born  
Yet, that shall look upon thee in the light,  
When the things prophesied have come to pass,

Yet the world's heart is softening unto thee  
Whom the world hated, following with hate,  
And wrong and falsehood, through a holy life."

HARRIET E. HAMILTON KING, *The Disciples.*

IT has been asserted by far-seeing men, that Socialism has made more headway in England than in any other country; that there is more Socialism in our customs and our laws than in any other part of the civilized world.

After speaking of local government, of free schools, and of land reform, and "the purpose of bringing the land into the best use for the nation," Mr. Joseph Chamberlain says, "It is needless now to attempt to define the measures that may be necessary for these ends. It is enough to indicate their general character. They sound the death-knell of the *laissez faire* system; and if the agricultural labourer is not strong enough to look after himself, to take the initiative in the social reforms prompted by a rational estimate of private interest, there is an organized body of politicians in this country who will, at least, do thus much for him. If it be said that this is Communism, the answer is that it is not. If it be said that it is legislation of a socialist tendency, the impeachment may readily be admitted. Between such legislation and Communism there is all the difference in the world. Communism means the reduction of everything to a dead level, the destruction of private adventure, the paralysis of private industry, the atrophy of private effort. The socialistic measures now contemplated,

would preserve in their normal vigour and freshness all the individual activities of English citizenship, and would do nothing more spoliatory than tax—if and in what degree necessary—aggregations of wealth for the good of the community." And again, on page 72, he writes, "A general reduction of incomes, once a certain point had been reached, would not inflict any appreciable amount of suffering. Twenty years ago, a man with £10,000 a year was regarded as a prodigy of wealth. Now he is considered well-to-do, and no more; and one may walk through streets and squares for hours in London, each house of which represents probably a minimum income of not less than £8000 a year. Has the happiness or comfort of life increased during these two decades in any proportion to the rate in which wealth has increased? It is notorious that it has not. Let it not be supposed that the writers of these papers contemplate the reduction by law of all incomes to a common level. The remark just made is only intended to remind persons that, even were the extremely rich to find that a re-adjustment of taxation tended to diminish their wealth, no great amount of hardship would be the result. . . . This will be called Socialism with a vengeance; but, as has been observed before, the path of legislative progress in England has been for years, and must continue to be, distinctly socialistic."\*

\* "The Radical Programme," pp. 16 and 72. Chapman & Hall, 1886.

But Arnold Toynbee was more strongly impressed by our socialistic tendencies than even Mr. Chamberlain. Let me quote a few passages from his address, "Are Radicals Socialists?" †—"We find, curiously enough, that some of the things the Socialists of Germany and France are now working for, we have had since 1834. The new poor-law was based upon a recognition of the principle that the poor had a right to relief from the State, a doctrine attacked by the Radicals, but which others say has saved England from revolution; and our Factory Acts are also Socialism. They interfere to protect the weak, and not only women and children, but also men, regulating not only the sanitary conditions of factories, but also the working hours. . . . I tremble to think what the country would have been without the Factory Acts. Let us do justice to the landowners of England, even if there mingled in their action an unworthy motive—that of taking their revenge upon the capitalists and millowners of Lancashire for their repeal of the corn-laws. And, abroad, these Acts, passed by Tory country gentlemen, are looked upon as socialistic. Let us now come to the last and most startling piece of socialistic legislation—the Irish Land Bill of 1881. . . . Let me insist that the principle of the Irish Land Act is not retrograde, but progressive. That Act marks not only an epoch in the history of Ireland, but also in the history of Democracy. It means—I

† "The Industrial Revolution," etc., pp. 214-218. Rivingtons.

say it advisedly—that the Radical party has committed itself to a Socialist programme. I do not mean the Socialism of the Tory Socialists; I do not mean the Socialism of Robert Owen; but I mean that the Radicals have finally accepted and recognized the fact, which has far-reaching applications, a fact which is the fundamental principle of Socialism, that between men who are unequal in material wealth there can be no freedom of contract. . . . These labourers cannot obtain dwellings for themselves; municipalities, or the State in some form, should have power to buy up land and let it below the market value for the erection of decent dwellings. It will be objected, 'Why, this is rank Socialism!' Yes, it is. Mr. Waddy was denounced as a Communist for making such a suggestion once in the House. But the principle is only the principle of the poor-law, and, if we look closely into the matter, we shall find that, as usual in England—where practice always precedes theory—the thing is already done."

Mr. Chamberlain is right; and so was Arnold Toynbee. Socialism is not a thing to be afraid of, in a free Christian country. Like co-operation, it is simply an attempt to realize the theory of Democracy. Co-operation, Socialism, and Communism are but the *agents* of Democracy.

And now the principle of Democracy must be definitely stated, for it was an error in the statement of the principle which led to Communism. As it is

preached to-day, Democracy is a curious mingling of truth and of ludicrous error.

Jesus Christ was content to state the principle of it when he preached the Fatherhood of God and the brotherhood of man. He attempted to organize no community, nor sought the aid of any government in the furtherance of a scheme of life. The time for this had not arrived. The first thing to be done was to make men recognize the sacredness and the obligations of their human brotherhood. To teach the Fatherhood of God, he spoke the parable of the Prodigal. To teach the brotherhood of man, he spoke the parable of the Good Samaritan. Every discourse and every parable had some bearing upon these fundamental ideas, which are the true basis of Democracy.

Since the days of Christ, until the coming of Joseph Mazzini, no further light has been cast upon the truths of Democracy. During this interval a few great men (Dante\* was one, and Cromwell another),

\* In "De Monarchia" and again in "Il Convito" Dante writes as follows: "God is one. The universe is a thought of God. The universe therefore is also one. All things spring from God. All things participate in the divine nature, more or less, according to the end for which they are created. Man is the noblest of created things. God has given to man more of His own nature than to the others. Everything that springs from God tends towards that amount of perfectibility of which it is susceptible. The capacity of perfectibility is indefinite in man. Humanity is one. God has created no useless thing. Humanity exists; hence there must be a single aim for all men, a work to

have apprehended the truth ; but, for the most part, writers on the subject of Democracy have cast mud into the spring ; they have obscured the truth by giving it a false definition. In spite of false prophets, however, progress has been made. The teachings of Christ have made real headway. Slowly we have learnt that the brotherhood of man is one of the facts of human life ; and in a measure we have begun to act as if we believed it. Our hospitals for the sick \*

be achieved by all. The human race must therefore work in unity, so that all the intellectual forces diffused among men may obtain the highest possible development in the sphere of thought and action. There exists therefore one universal religion for the human race."

\* "One of Dr. Alison's Scotch facts struck us much. A poor Irish widow, her husband having died in one of the lanes of Edinburgh, went forth with her three children, bare of all resource, to solicit help from the charitable establishments of that city. At this charitable establishment and then at that she was refused ; referred from one to the other, helped by none ;— till she had exhausted them all ; till her strength and her heart failed her ; she sank down in typhus fever ; died, and infected her lane with fever, so that 'seventeen other persons' died of fever there in consequence. The humane physician asks there-upon, as with a heart too full for speaking, 'Would it not have been *economy* to help this poor widow ? She took typhus fever, and killed seventeen of you ! Very curious. The forlorn Irish widow applies to her fellow-creatures, as if saying, "Behold I am sinking bare of help ; ye must help me ! I am your sister, bone of your bone : one God made us : ye must help me !" They answer, "No, impossible ; thou art no sister of ours." But she proves her sisterhood—her typhus fever kills *them* ; they actually were her brothers though denying it. . . . Seventeen of you lying dead will not deny such proof that she *was* flesh of

are a token of our belief in it ; and our English poor-law, foolish as it is, and even mischievous, is an attempt, in a blind sort of way, to express our sense of an obligation which lies upon us to care for our fellow-beings. When we build our workhouses, we are saying—as plainly as bricks and mortar and poor's-rates can say it—that we are our brother's keeper.

But Mazzini takes up the true thought, the undying principle, of Democracy ; \* and he teaches your flesh ; and perhaps some of the living may lay it to heart.” —Carlyle's “*Past and Present*,” p. 128.

\* “There must always be antagonisms of interest ; and these can only be met by moral ideas appropriate not to the feudal, but to the citizen stage. Men's rights will clash, and the reconciliation must come through a higher gospel than the gospel of rights—the gospel of duty ; that gospel which Mazzini lived to proclaim ; for not Adam Smith, not Carlyle, great as he was, but Mazzini is the true teacher of our age. He, like Carlyle, wrote a great book, ‘*The Duties of Man*,’ which is the most simple and passionate statement published in this century of a Man's duties to God and his fellows. Mazzini was a democrat, who spent his life in struggling to free his country, but he believed in liberty not as an end but as a means—a means to a purer and nobler life for the whole people.

“The time has come to preach this gospel ; not because it is not always true, but because there are social conditions in which it is little better than a mockery to preach it. How could you preach duty to men who were conscious that they had not their rights ? ‘Who made it?’ said workmen, speaking of the old law of master and servant. ‘Not we ; we had no hand in making it ; it was made by those who employ us, and by those who govern us.’ But now that law has been repealed, and the bitter sense of injustice is gone. Democracy, to be praised for

further truth : he takes away the grossness of its accumulated materialism, and instead of a cry for rights and selfish interest, he gives us the manlier and the truer passion for duty.

“I intend to speak to you of your duties. I intend to speak to you according to the dictates of my heart of the holiest things we know ; to speak to you of God, of humanity, of the fatherland, and the family. Listen to me in love, as I shall speak to you in love. My words are words of conviction, matured by long years of study, of experience, and of sorrow. The duties which I point out to you, I have striven, and shall strive while I live, to fulfil as far as I have the power. I may err, but my error is not of the heart. I may deceive myself, but I will not deceive you. . . . Wherefore, do I speak to you of your *duties* before speaking to you of your *rights*? Wherefore, in a society wherein all, voluntarily or involuntarily, tend to oppress you ; wherein the exercise of so many of the rights that belong to man is continually denied to you, do I speak to you of self-sacrifice rather than of conquest? This is a question which I am bound to answer clearly before I go any further, because this is precisely the point which constitutes the difference between the school to which I belong, and many

many things, is most to be praised for this : that it has made it possible, without shame or reluctance, to preach the gospel of duty to the whole people.”—From “Industry and Democracy,” a Lecture by Arnold Toynbee.

others now existing in Europe ; and also because this is a question that naturally arises in the vexed mind of the suffering working-man. . . . All that has been achieved or attempted in the cause of progress and improvement in Europe during the last fifty years, whether against absolute governments, or the aristocracy of birth, has been attempted in the name of the *Rights* of man, and of *Liberty* as the means of that well-being which has been regarded as the end and aim of life. All the acts of the great French Revolution, and of those revolutions which succeeded and imitated it, were a consequence of the 'Declaration of the Rights of Man.' All the works of those philosophers, whose writings prepared the way for that revolution, were founded upon a theory of liberty, and of making known to every individual his rights. . . . In this state of continual warfare, men were educated in egotism and the exclusive greed of material well-being. Mere liberty of belief had destroyed all community of faith. Mere liberty of education generated moral anarchy. Mankind, without any common bond, without unity of religious belief or aim, bent upon enjoyment and nought beyond, sought each and all to tread their own path, little heeding if in pursuing it they trampled upon the bodies of their brothers—brothers in name, but enemies in fact. This is the state of things we have reached at the present day, thanks to the theory of rights. Rights no doubt exist; but when the rights of

one individual happen to clash with those of another, how can we hope to reconcile and harmonize them, if we do not refer to something which is above all rights? . . . This principle is DUTY. We must convince men that they are all sons of one sole God, and bound to fulfil and execute one sole law here on earth; that each of them is bound to live, not for himself, but for others; that the aim of existence is, not to be more or less happy, but to make themselves and others more virtuous; that to struggle against injustice and error, wherever they exist, in the name and for the benefit of their brothers, is not only a *right* but a duty—a duty which may not be neglected without sin, the duty of their whole life. Working men! brothers! understand me well. When I say that the consciousness of your rights will never suffice to produce an important and durable progress, I do not ask you to renounce those rights. I merely say that such rights can only exist as a consequence of duties fulfilled, and that we must begin with fulfilling the last in order to achieve the first. . . . Your poverty frequently involves the impossibility of your obtaining justice like the other classes; how are you to learn to love and respect justice? Society treats you without a shadow of sympathy; how are you to learn sympathy with society? . . . Any conceivable doctrine of rights and material happiness can only lead you to attempts which, so long as you remain isolated and rely solely on your own strength, can never succeed; and which

can but result in that worst of crimes, a civil war between class and class.

"Working men! brothers! When Christ came and changed the face of the world, He spoke not of rights to the rich, who needed not to achieve them; nor to the poor, who would, doubtless, have abused them, in imitation of the rich; He spoke not of utility nor of interest to a people whom interest and utility had corrupted; He spoke of duty, He spoke of love, of sacrifice, and of faith; and He said that they should be first among all who had contributed most by their labour to the good of all.

"And the words of Christ, breathed in the ear of a society in which all true life was extinct, recalled it to existence, conquered the millions, conquered the world, and caused the education of the human race to ascend one degree on the scale of progress. Working men! we live in an epoch similar to that of Christ." \*

Before proceeding to the later developments of Democracy, it may be instructive to glance at the errors of some of its supposed prophets. Many of these are based upon the idea that the *equality* of man is the same as the *brotherhood* of man. Obviously this is as far from the truth as it possibly could be. If we were equals we should need one another very little, and very seldom. I might almost say that the

\* See "Joseph Mazzini," a Memoir with Two Essays by Mazzini, "Thoughts on Democracy," and "The Duties of Man," p. 262 *et seq.* H. S. King & Co.

inequality of man, and the consequent possibility of helpfulness therefore, is a necessary accompaniment of the *brotherhood* of man.

Plato, More, Campanella, Owen, Babeuf, and Cabet, and the pure Communists of America to-day, are all agreed in their fundamental principles, which are the following:—

First: All men are equal.

Second: All men have equal requirements.

Third: All men have a right to an equal share of external goods.\*

Not one of these propositions is true. And yet there is an appearance of truth about them, which is extremely misleading to a man of democratic tendencies. A true statement of the facts upon which democratic institutions may be based is perhaps the following:—

First: All men are brothers.

Second: All men require the necessaries of life.

Third: All men have a right to reward according to merit.

The former represents the theory of Communism; the latter represents the facts of human life, and the true theory of democracy.

Only in one sense can it be said that “All men are equal.” We are equal before God. The divine

\* Summarized thus by Professor Adamson in a lecture on “Political Economy,” delivered in Owen’s College, Manchester, on Friday, December 14, 1877.

love makes us equal in His Presence. It was the mystery of love which made the elder son and the prodigal equal ; although they were equal in no other respect. In our churches and cathedrals we celebrate this equality when we kneel down to prayers, Queen and subject, master and servant, rich and poor alike. We are equal in our worship of God ; and the day is not far distant when we shall as clearly realize the equal importance of each man's being able to do his duty on earth ; which is also one of the lessons of the true Democracy.\*

Men upon earth have an equal right of prayer and petition ; an equal right of worship ; we are equals in

\* "You try to set yourself apart from the vulgar. It is in vain. In that instant vulgarity attaches itself to you.

"If it did not, you would cease to exist.

"Gold is not finer than lead, nor lead than gold ; every atom of each has its own life movement. . . .

"But who is this ?

"Who passes among his fellows without constraint and without encroachment, without embarrassment, and without grimaces ?

"Who is ignorant and careless of what is termed politeness ? who makes life wherever he goes desirable, and removes stumbling-blocks instead of creating them ?

"Grave and strong and untamed.

"This is the clear-browed, unconstrained, tender face, with full lips and bearded chin ; this is the regardless, defiant face I love and trust ;

"Which I came out to see, and having seen do not forget.

"The common people salute him as their equal, and call him by his name ; the children know him ; they run after him and catch him by the hand. . . ."—"Towards Democracy," pp. 45, 47. John Heywood.

our manner of birth ; equals in the fact that we are all mortal, and we have reason to believe that we are loved equally by God.

But this is the end of our equality. Brothers we are undoubtedly ; but brothers are not necessarily equals except in the sense that they have an equal regard for each other. When we consider the facts of moral life, intellectual life, and physical life, we find at once that we are no longer equal, but dependent one upon another. No one can visit a college and see the professor of one of the sciences delivering his lecture to forty students, and continue to believe in equality ; how can one instruct another where there is intellectual equality ? No one can enter an ordinary household, and observe the varying degrees of deference shown to the parents, the eldest son, and the youngest child, and ponder these things, and then continue to believe in equality of physique, or intellect, or morals. This assertion concerning equality, therefore, is a statement of a spiritual principle—the highest and noblest kind of truth—a statement, however, which is untrue everywhere except in its own sphere.

But in its own sphere it is true, and is universally accepted as truth ; life is an equally sacred gift because it is the gift of God ; equally sacred, whether it be the life of a woman cast aside, or the life of an industrious farmer. It may not be pleaded in extenuation of the crime of murder that the victim was

a "worthless" person. Why? There *are* worthless people upon the earth—as we reckon worth. We instinctively feel that none can be worthless, but that all are equal in the sight of Infinite Love.

"All men have equal requirements," said the Communists. But the statement is not in accordance with the facts of life. Go to any mother who has reared a family of children, and you are taught at once that her children have had very unequal requirements. That which is true of children, is true of men and women. Every human taste and capacity has its own requirements. Ever since the day when Jubal lived, "the father of all such as handle the harp and pipe," there have been children, and men and women who have had musical requirements, which were not universal necessities; there have been readers of books, and men who never read, unless they were compelled; there have been poets, painters, and sculptors, and men who despised all three; the sick, the feeble, and the infirm have requirements which the healthy and the strong never know. So that it is not a true statement of the democratic principle to say, "All men have equal requirements." It is much more accurate to say—what our English poor-law has been saying these two hundred years—"All men require the necessaries of life."

The third principle stated by the Communists is the one which they themselves have quarrelled with most frequently—"All men have a right to an equal

share of external goods." This is no part of true Democracy. Reward must be according to merit ;—this has been the watchword of the people. On this basis the extraordinary claims of the aristocracy have always been challenged. It is based upon justice, and upon the facts of life. And because it is most righteous, it is most expedient, that men should be rewarded according to merit. I said that some of the errors of the Communists were ludicrous ; this is one of them, "All men have a right to an equal share of external goods." If the green spectacles, and the bath-chairs, and the kid gloves were divided equally, some of us would wonder what to do with them.

The *claim* to a share of external goods depends obviously upon the productive worth of each man. The necessities of life are so easily earned, when men are not hindered, that we may safely say, if they work at all, that they have a right to food and clothing and shelter. All men must be supplied with these things ; we must supply them as doles, or we must ensure the possibility of their earning them, so long as we believe in the sacredness of human life. But beyond this, we can lay down no rule ; special facilities and capacities must be satisfied by individual effort to a large extent—the State of course being always willing to recognize, and encourage, and use for the common good, exceptional power and exceptional gifts. The Fatherhood of God ; the brotherhood of

man ; the sacredness of human life ; the overwhelming importance of duty ; and, as a consequence, the importance of every man's being able to do his duty ; these are the principles of Democracy, and it is for the sake of the application of these principles to human life that efforts in Co-operation and in Socialism have been made. Many writers who have attacked Communism have not attacked Socialism. At most they have complained that it was not constructive ; that it did good service to the world in pointing out the evils of competition and the selfish pursuit of wealth ; but it laid the foundations of no better plan of life ; that it was a finger-post, having one pointer which warned men of danger who travelled in one direction, but to which the second pointer, marking out the road of safety, had not been affixed. This is pretty much the complaint of Mr. Washington Gladden, in his article in the *Century Magazine* for March, 1886, entitled, "The Strength and Weakness of Socialism." "The objections to a communistic solution," says Arnold Toynbee, "do not apply to Socialism in a more modified shape. Historically speaking, Socialism has already shown itself in England in the extension of State influence," etc.\*

And now we turn to the "New Economy," whose chief teachers are Sismondi, Carlyle, Mazzini, Arnold Toynbee, and Mr. Ruskin. It has taken careful notice of the truths enunciated by Democracy, and has en-

\* "The Industrial Revolution," p. 151. Rivingtons.

deavoured to write a continuation of the older political economy. Many of its writers are disposed to call it "human economy," or "social economy;" "political economy" being what seems to them the name of a very narrow and useless science. In all fairness, however, we ought to judge the older economists upon their merits. Adam Smith did not attempt to answer the question which Mr. Ruskin is answering to-day. And we should remember this in reading the attacks of Mr. Ruskin and of Carlyle upon the older writers. Mr. Ruskin is naturally indignant when he finds that it takes nine men to make a pin. This is a result of division of labour, he exclaims; these men are spending their days in monotonous drudgery. We forget that commerce was made for man, and not man for commerce. Matters were bad enough when the pinmaker could make a pin from the beginning to the end; but now when he can do nothing but grind pin-points, it is nine times worse; the whole tendency of this elaborate subdivision of labour is to take away our intelligent workmen, and to give us nothing in exchange but new machines with drudges to take care of them.

Of course the new economists are right. But then the older writers never raised this question for discussion. If they had done so, it is very probable that both Ricardo and Adam Smith would have dealt with it in a creditable manner. What they *did* try to do, was this: to define the laws of industrial

activity when that activity was directed to the attainment of wealth.

All their questionings were concerned with national *wealth*. This plainly is only one element of national welfare. And so, when Carlyle and Mr. Ruskin speak of human economy, they are regarding social phenomena from an entirely different point of view from that which was occupied by Smith and Ricardo. The "human economist" inquires more eagerly into the causes of extreme poverty than into the sources of wealth. The best definition of the older economy was that given by John Battiste Say, in the title of his book, which was "A Treatise on Political Economy, or a simple exposition of the manner according to which wealth is found, distributed, and consumed." This definition was generally accepted by James Mill, John Stuart Mill, Cairns, Fawcett, and others. John Stuart Mill, however, objected that the question of the consumption of wealth was no part of the science of political economy.

"The real science of political economy," says Mr. Ruskin,\* "which has yet to be distinguished from the bastard science, as medicine from witchcraft, and astronomy from astrology, is that which teaches nations to desire and labour for the things that lead to life; and which teaches them to scorn and destroy the things that lead to destruction. And if, in a state of infancy, they supposed indifferent things,

\* "Unto this Last," pp. 119 and 141.

such as excrescences of shell-fish and pieces of blue and red stone to be valuable, and spent large measures of the labour which ought to be employed for the extension and ennobling of life, in diving or digging for them, and cutting them into various shapes—or if, in the same state of infancy they imagine precious and beneficent things such as air, light, and cleanliness, to be valueless; or if, finally, they imagine the conditions of their own existence, by which alone they can truly possess or use anything, such, for instance, as peace, trust, and love, to be prudently exchangeable, when the markets offer, for gold, iron, or excrescences of shells—the great and only science of Political Economy teaches them, in all these cases, what is vanity and what substance; and how the service of Death, the Lord of Waste, and of eternal emptiness, differs from the service of Wisdom, the Lady of Saving, and of eternal fulness. . . . Labour of the best quality may be various in aim. It may be either constructive ('gathering,' from *con* and *struo*), as agriculture; nugatory, as jewel-cutting; or destructive ('scattering,' from *de* and *struo*), as war. It is not, however, always easy to prove labour apparently nugatory, to be actually so; generally the formula holds good, 'he that gathereth not, scattereth; ' thus the jeweller's art is probably very harmful in its ministering to a clumsy and inelegant pride. So that, finally, I believe nearly all labour may be shortly divided into positive and negative

labour ; positive, that which produces life ; negative, that which produces death ; the most directly negative labour being murder, and the most directly positive the bearing and rearing of children."

It was Professor Jowett, the Master of Balliol College, I believe, who first began to speak definitely of the "new economy,"—the economy which did not fear the name of Socialism and which recognized the truths of Democracy. In the memoir which Professor Jowett wrote, he tells us that Toynbee did not ignore the benefits which the elder generation of English economists had conferred upon mankind. He knew that their doctrines were in the abstract true, but he believed that they had done their work, and that the world had got beyond them and stood in need of something more. If they were not to become odious and even mischievous, some "second thoughts" must be added. He was as strongly in favour of freedom of labour and freedom of trade, of sound principles of currency, of the modification (if not the abolition) of the poor-law, as the straitest of the sect.

But he thought that the old political economy was only half the truth, and in practice had turned out to be the reverse of the truth. He quarrelled, above all, with the extreme abstraction of the science ; it was a mere hypothesis which had no near relation to facts, and was often contradicted by them. The economists spoke of a principle of the greatest wealth, which happened to coincide with the interests of the upper and

middle classes, and also coincided with the prodigious extension of manufacturing industry which took place at the beginning of the century. They preached the accumulation of wealth, leaving the distribution to take care of itself. They assured the poor man freedom of labour, but without education, without the chance of emigration, confined as he was to his original place of abode by the action of the old poor-law, the freedom given to him was under ordinary circumstances only a liberty to starve. The contract which he made with his master was a contract not of equal with equal, but of equal with unequal, in which the labourer had no chance of gaining a proportionate share of the increasing wealth of the country. Toynbee considered also that while professing merely to state the laws of wealth, the theories of political economists did indirectly tend to promote a grasping spirit both in nations and individuals.

“The new political economy,” continues Professor Jowett, “must be nearer to facts—more helpful in relieving the wants of great cities ; must teach duties as well as laws—must not be satisfied with true doctrines of rent or of money; but must reconcile humanity with science, the reason of men with their feelings. As Toynbee wrote in one of his letters: ‘The political economy of Ricardo has not vanished ; it has only been corrected, re-stated, and put into the proper relation of the science of life.’ The older school of economists had shown the danger of Government

interference; the new was to show how and when governments *ought* to interfere; it might even be hoped that combination and co-operation promoted by the State would create new forms of industrial society."

To which hope of Professor Jowett's I may be pardoned if I speak a fervent "Amen"; and may this "co-operation promoted by the State" come soon.

Let us not overlook the claims of Sismondi. He also must rank, along with Carlyle, Mazzini, Ruskin, and Toynbee, as one of the foremost and earliest advocates of what Professor Jowett calls the "new economy." Singularly enough, he was a contemporary of Ricardo's. His life was spent in struggling against the current of Ricardo's popularity; and for the most part he was accounted retrogressive and old-fashioned. He had the true conservatism of all the great and the good; he saw that the new "advanced" method of looking at life was materialistic and degrading; in reality, he was one of the wisest men of the age in which he lived.

It was Sismondi who was first indignant at the "*laissez faire, laissez passer*," of the old political economy. It was after him that his disciple, Buvet, repeated, "*Laissez faire la misère; laissez passer la mort!*" "Let wretchedness do its work; do not interfere with death!"

It was Sismondi who was indignant at the system

by which some labour, that others may enjoy. He it was who cried that the time will come when our posterity will not deem us less barbarous for having left the labouring classes without any security, than we deem those nations who have reduced them to slavery.

It was he who asked if it is not everywhere perceived that men are confiscated for the advantage of things. "What signifies the increase of wealth," he cried, "if it does not serve to feed men?"

It was he who demanded for all a participation in the advantages of life; he who refused to call that riches which one member of the community took from another; he who cried that the advantage of all ought to limit the rights of all; that property is the right to use, but not to abuse. Before the voice of O'Connell was heard, and with as much boldness and with more weight, Sismondi exclaimed, "The social order of Ireland is essentially bad; it must be changed from top to bottom. The question is not to give the bread of charity to the famished poor; it is to secure existence and property to every man whose hands are his only wealth."

He apprehended the importance of the topic upon which Toynbee wrote his book, "The Industrial Revolution;" *i.e.* the change from feudalism to the liberty of contract on the part of the labourer. As M. Michelet says, when paying homage to the memory of Sismondi: "His glory is to have pointed out the

evils ; courage was necessary for that ! to have foretold new crises. But the remedy ? That is not an affair of the same man, or the same age. Five hundred years have been required to set us free from political feudalism ; will a few years be sufficient to set us free from industrial feudalism ? "

In the journey which he made into England, in 1826, before publishing the second edition of his "*Nouveaux Principes*," Sismondi saw what he had foretold realized, and shuddered at the fatal effects of "that vital organization which, stripping the working-man of all other property but that of his hands, ends by taking that also from him, and replacing it by machines." Recoiling from the aspect "of the hideous convulsions of wealth ill-divided," he cries, "No spectacle is more alarming than that which England presents, in the midst of that opulence which at first dazzles the eye. The great roads are alternately traversed by troops of beggars dismissed from the manufactories, and by troops of ragged Irish, who offer themselves from farm to farm to perform agricultural labour. Both ask alms, only when they are refused work ; but every nook is full. The field labourers see with bitterness strangers contending with them for work, which before was scarcely sufficient to maintain them." "In the towns, in the capital, in Hyde Park, where the most sumptuous equipages succeed one another with the rapidity of lightning, bands of ten and twenty manufacturers (workmen ?)

seated motionless, despair in their eyes, fever exhausting their limbs, do not excite a moment's attention. A third of the workshops are closed, another third must soon be closed, and all the shops are loaded. On every side manufactures are offered at a price which can only half pay the expense of production. In this universal distress, everywhere the working-man is dismissed, and the English nation gives his place to steam-engines." "At a period when suffering humanity has the most need—that the science which is the theory of the well-being of all should draw near to common intellects and speak a popular language—political economy is lost in abstractions, and enveloped in calculations more and more difficult to follow."

"What," cried Sismondi, answering Ricardo in a long conversation which they had together at Geneva, a short time before the death of the English writer—"what, is wealth then everything! Are men absolutely nothing!" \*

And now, having endeavoured to state what seem to me to be the true principles of Democracy; and the broader aims and issues of what has been called the "new economy," I have but little to add to this chapter. When the new crusade is preached to the millions of the unemployed in England, and the

\* See "Political Economy and the Philosophy of Government." Essays by M. de Sismondi. Published in 1847 by John Chapman, London.

possibility of an answer to their prayer is shown, "We want work and not charity," I devoutly hope that the reform of the poor-law will not be demanded in the name of a right, but in the sacred name of duty.

Surely it is a man's first duty in life to earn his livelihood. Let us be grateful to Mazzini that he taught us to look upon this question in its true light. Let us be grateful to him for the diviner enthusiasm which will inspire the thousands of the unemployed if they enter upon this agitation, not in the name of rights, but in the holier name of duty.

It was necessary to write this chapter for many reasons. I have long been anxious to know whether those whom I esteem as the noblest men, and the truest thinkers on this subject of poverty, would have approved of the scheme for its abolition which I have attempted to advocate in this book. Certainty concerning Mazzini and Toynbee, I suppose, I can never have. And yet I have great confidence of what Toynbee's opinion would have been, and what Carlyle's would have been. Before I turn to these, however, let me point out that my proposal concerning the co-operative estates need not seek approval only from the new economists.

Surely Adam Smith could not have been adverse to a scheme, involving so much self-reliance on the part of the poor, when he wrote as follows: "The patrimony of a poor man lies in the strength and

dexterity of his hands, and to hinder him \* from employing this strength and dexterity in what manner he thinks proper, without injury to his neighbour, is a plain violation of this most sacred property."

What is it to-day that keeps five millions of persons unemployed and poor in England? Nothing but a competition under which society has become "a collection of warring atoms."

What will restore these men and women and children to a position of comfort and independence? Co-operation, which is the opposite of competition; this, and this alone, will redeem our pauperized millions.

But, again, we have the famous edict of Turgot for the dissolution of the *jurandes*, adopting almost the same language as Adam Smith: "God, when He made man with wants, and rendered labour an indispensable resource, made the right of work † the property of every individual in the world, and this property is the first, the most sacred, and the most imprescriptible of all kinds of property. We regard it as one of the first duties of our justice, and as one of the acts most of all worthy of our benevolence, to free our subjects from every infraction of that inalienable right of humanity."

For evidence of Carlyle's probable commendation

\* See the account of the dilemma of the baker and the shoemaker and the tailor described in the first chapter of this book.

† And I would add, the right of *useful* work.

of this reform of our poor-law, I refer my reader to a quotation from "Latter-day Pamphlets," which may be found in the fourteenth chapter of this book.

And now I turn to Toynbee. And let me here say that I would rather have heard the actual approval of this man, on behalf of my scheme, than that of all the older economists together; for he had learnt to love Mazzini. His heart was right towards God; and it is part of my nature to believe that the commendation of a man who feels rightly, whose heart beats truly, is more to be desired than that of a man who merely thinks logically. I believe, at the outset, that the scheme I have expounded is in entire accord with the principles of the "new economy" of which Toynbee was an exponent and an advocate. But I take encouragement chiefly from the fact that it fulfils the three requirements named by Toynbee, when he says, "The Radical creed, as I understand it, is this: We have not abandoned our old belief in liberty, justice, and self-help; \* but we say that, under certain conditions, the people cannot help themselves, and that then they should be helped by the State, representing directly the whole people. *In giving this State help we make three conditions*—first, the matter must be one of primary social importance; next, it must be proved to be practicable; thirdly, the State interference must not diminish self-reliance."

\* Surely within the co-operative estates we might inscribe upon every wall, "Liberty, justice, and self-help."

I pray that I may always have so noble a judge!

The first condition is that the matter be one of primary social importance. I point to five million pauperized English people.

The second condition is that it be proved to be practicable. I point to the yellow corn-fields, the laden fruit trees, the browsing kine, the proverbial industry of our nation. And, if this be not sufficient, to the workhouse at Newcastle-upon-Tyne, to Oneida, to Ralahine, and to Frederiksoord, all which experiments contended with hindrances from which we shall be free.

The third condition is that the State interference must not diminish self-reliance. I point to the English workhouse as it exists to-day, to its million paupers, forbidden to lift so much as a finger towards their own maintenance ; to the premature childishness and imbecility which it fosters ; and I ask, Is this self-reliance ? I point, moreover, to the thousands of starving workmen who are to be found in every city and borough of England, who march through the streets, or who assemble helplessly at their public meetings with the noblest and most pathetic cry which ever yet came from the lips of famished workmen, "We want work, and not charity." And in the name of God our Father, in the name of our common brotherhood, I demand on behalf of these wronged, suffering, and patient men, the restoration of their work—filched from them by a short-sighted competi-

tion. I demand for these the possibility of doing the first duty to which men are called—the possibility of ~~earning~~ by the sweat of the brow, an honest, a self-reliant, and an independent livelihood.

## CHAPTER XIV.

## THE ADVANTAGES OF THE REMEDY.

“ ‘Your Love,’ I said,  
‘Through the long summer days  
I lie and laugh and listen to his lays ;  
Court Fool is he,’ said I. ‘Crown him with bays  
And laurel for the folly of his ways :’  
I did not know.

\* \* \* \* \*

“ I looked on Love !  
Ah me ! I mocked no more.  
Within his hand a flaming sword he bore ;  
His eyes were great and sad, and prone before  
Him in the dust I lay, lamenting sore.  
‘ Great Love,’ I cried, ‘ master for evermore !  
I know, I know.’

\* \* \* \* \*

“ His face was pale  
And most majestic fair ;  
There was no lightsome joyance in his air ;  
A throbbing wound bled in his bosom bare ;  
A thornèd crown was on his shining hair,—  
So did I know.

\* \* \* \* \*

“ ‘ Laughed thou at Love ?  
The day will come for tears,  
For pangs and aching longings, heavy fears,  
For memories laying waste all coming years,—  
Dead hopes, each one a living flame that sears,—  
Then wilt thou know ! ’

\* \* \* \* \*

“ I mock no more,  
Great Love, but hear my cry ;  
Give me the pang, the woe, the bitter sigh,  
Hear me, in pity, hear me, lest I die.  
Let me bear all, so, Love, pass me not by,  
Since Love I know ! ”

FRANCES HODGSON BURNETT.

“ Thus thou hast seen one world begin and end,  
And man as from a second stock procee  
Much thou hast yet to see.”

MILTON.

“ Lead us not into temptation ; but deliver us from evil.”—  
*The Lord's Prayer.*

I DO not class myself amongst those well-meaning people who attribute all the sufferings of the poor to the system of competition which now prevails in England. Although a large proportion is undoubtedly due to competition, there is suffering in the world for which I have very little pity—suffering which I am quite sure it is mischievous to attempt to palliate. Such is the suffering of vagrants, and sots, and criminals ; of idle men and worthless women, for whose sake it would be folly to break

“ the chain  
That binds together guilt and pain.”

A certain amount of suffering is the natural penalty of dissolute living; and if we attempt to save men from this, we shall fight against the very constitution of things, and shall assuredly fail of our object. Not only shall we fail; we shall increase the amount of pain which arises from this source.

I agree with Mr. Herbert Spencer,\* when he says "that the poverty of the incapable, the distresses that come upon the imprudent, the starvation of the idle . . . are the decrees of a far-reaching benevolence." At the same time I believe it to be the duty of the State, whilst it does not tamper with these natural punishments, to educate and win over the incapable, the improvident, and the idle, by making virtue more sure of its *earthly* reward. It has never been any part of my theory that abstract ideas of freedom will regenerate the habitual tramp. If ever the tramp is influenced, it must be by appeals to pleasures and pains which he is able to appreciate,—which he may enjoy or which awaken his fear, almost at once. It is much easier to prevent the rising generation from becoming destitute, than to cure those who are destitute already. But to return. Let us look fairly at both aspects of the poverty problem.

Let us not for a moment imagine that all who suffer are therefore wicked. Let us also realize the fact that there is a large class of sufferers to-day who suffer through no fault of their own—the class of the

\* "Social Statics."

*deserving* poor. It is for these that my hopes of reform are cherished. For the rest—the undeserving poor—it will be sufficient if we put barriers between them and the mistaken generosity of an indulgent public.

The fact that the deserving and the undeserving are suffering side by side, makes the life of an impostor easy, at present, and makes works of true charity difficult. If only we could “get our knaves and dastards arrested,” we could deal with them easily ; and we could accomplish much in the way of social reform. This is the obstacle which meets us at every turn. I am conscious of the fact that I claim no small thing, therefore, when I say that one of the advantages of the remedy proposed in this book is that it would take away the mask from the impostor.

I have already suggested that there would henceforth be no excuse for foolish philanthropy. There would be a possibility open *at all times* by which a healthy man could earn his livelihood, and the miseries of starving children and the anguish of desperate parents would be known no more. Moreover, owing to the degradation which now attaches itself to every man who receives from the relieving officer money which he has not earned, we sympathize with the multitude of the poor who prefer to starve rather than accept a loveless gift. Many of us even go so far as to share the feelings of those who, being unable to obtain honest work, prefer to beg, and thus to receive

their dole from men and women whose gift is a token of sympathy—who give to the beggar at their doors, not merely a penny, but also a penny's worth of sympathy—rather than accept, also by begging, the unfeeling gift of the poor-law union, as it is at present managed. “We do not want your doles, we want work !” is the brave, pathetic, constant cry.

When they are driven by the pangs of hunger to accept doles, I do not wonder, therefore, that the unemployed prefer to beg from door to door than to beg from the poor-law officials. If I were one of the unemployed, my best instincts would urge me in the same direction ; that is to say, I would beg from the public rather than from the officials of the public.

“ You know

‘Tis better to be whole beggar, and have flesh  
That is but pinched by weather out of breath,  
Than a safe slave with happy blood i’ the cheek  
And wrists ungalled. There’s nothing in the world  
So worth as freedom ; pluck this freedom out  
You leave the rag and residue of man  
Like a bird’s back displumed.”

But suppose for a moment that co-operative estates were established in every union, and that men who *earned* their living in these places were not disfranchised any longer, and were not degraded in any way—can we suppose that begging would then be encouraged by the public ? Can we suppose that it would even be tolerated ? Nay, it would not only be the necessity for begging, but the excuse of the borrower, that

we should thus abolish. Imagine a case under the proposed conditions. You would ask your applicant why he did not go to the workshop, or on the estate? You would ask him why he were not independent? If he alleged sickness as a reason, you would ask, Why not go to the hospital? If he alleged laziness, then I imagine the tenderest of men would withhold his hand from the giving of a bribe for its encouragement. Therefore, I say, the second advantage of the remedy here proposed would be that the temptations to the acts of a foolish philanthropy would be withdrawn.

A third obvious advantage of this reform would be that the land of England would be speedily laid under a scientific system of cultivation. And a fourth advantage would be the ennobling of the nation as a whole. These two advantages go hand-in-hand everywhere. The new impetus to agriculture of the best kind would spring from no less than 649 centres in England and Wales alone. And it could not fail to result in a great increase of contentment and loyalty amongst the people. It has frequently been lamented that the land of England is steadily passing out of cultivation. In some blind way every man of thought feels that this is wrong. It has no less frequently been pointed out by the historians that it is an inevitable sign of coming decay or revolution. It was so in Babylon, and Greece, and Rome. Mr. Herbert Spencer evidently regards it as a mournful sign. In

his article on "The Coming Slavery," he quotes favourably, the authors Lactant and Taine as follows : " In Gaul, during the decline of the Roman empire, so numerous were the receivers in comparison with the payers, and so enormous the weight of taxation, that the labourer broke down, the plains became deserts, and woods grew where the plough had been."\*

" In like manner, when the French Revolution was approaching, the public burdens had become such, that many farms remained uncultivated and many were deserted ; one quarter of the soil was absolutely lying waste ; and in some provinces one-half was in heath."†

It is needless to write much upon the fourth advantage of this reform—the increase of contentment and loyalty amongst the people. To think of a kingdom where none but the wicked and the dissolute should suffer, is to think of the kingdom of God ; promised by the prophets of old, by Jesus, and by the noblest of the patriots of all times. In the co-operative estates, men will be masters of their own circumstances, and fellow-workers towards a common end.

" Thy kingdom come," has been the prayer of millions of men and women ; and the prayer has stood for the Christian's desire to separate the unjust and useless sufferings of the human race which are caused

\* " Lactant :" *De M. Persecut.*, cc. 7, 23.

† Taine, " *L'Ancien Régime*," pp. 337, 338 (in the English translation).

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by the folly of nations, from the chastisements and visitations of God, which, however hard to bear, may always be regarded as essentially just, if they be penalties ; or as ennobling and enriching in their influence upon character, if they be the visitations of sickness or bereavement. A self-reliant people, not over-anxious concerning the necessities of daily life ; an independent race of men and women, with whom a life of industry and moderate plentifullness has become a matter of fact and of daily thankfulness—such a people will make progress as we have never yet seen it upon this earth ; their very faces will change. In less than two generations the discontent and the hardness in the countenances of the industrious class will give place to the smiles of healthy life ; and, except in the days of sickness and of repentance, they will have freedom from care. We shall hear no more of

“the swarming millions from the mire  
With masks of swine for images of God.”

Oh, surely, there is no such elevating human influence in all the world as useful work. “Mine own arm brought salvation unto me,” said Isaiah ; and the emotion which prompted that saying will be in the hearts of great multitudes when England is no longer a land of paupers, but a land of industry and self-reliance. If no other plea could be advanced in favour of the reform, this hope alone makes it worthy of the best efforts of the best men who are living to-

day—that it removes the shackles from the hands of the labourers.

But I will enumerate a fifth advantage of this reform. “He that goes a-borrowing goes a-sorrowing,” says an ancient proverb. The saying is true of nations, as it is true of men. And the proverb is wiser than all the economists, who have attempted to show that usury does more good than harm in England. Plausible cases may be produced by advocates here and there. But the mother-wit of a sensible man enables him to see the folly of their conclusion, when he may not be able to trace the error of their reasonings. Men go a-borrowing to-day, because borrowing is possible. It is possible, because men are willing to lend their money; sometimes from charitable motives, sometimes from the desire to obtain interest on the money thus lent. But when this reform is carried into practice, wise men will no longer lend from charitable motives. The pangs of hunger and the inability to obtain work will no longer be pleaded in the cause of the borrower. A good man will never lend his money to foster sycophancy or mendicancy, so long as the mere withholding of the loan will drive his applicant to independence and a self-reliant manhood. This new axiom of morality will be so plain and so generally accepted that it will be enforced everywhere. In this way, then, we shall uproot one of the chief sources of the “sorrow” that comes of borrowing. But we shall also put a powerful check

upon the willingness of the money-lender, whose motive for the lending of his money—is gain. The ordinary money-lender is an expert in the reading of character. He will lend only to the enterprising, industrious man, or to the rich prodigal. He knows the shiftless, thriftless, man, the ne'er-do-well, the squanderer ; and as soon as his expectations are exhausted he refuses to find any more money for him. The ordinary money-lender is a spaniel that forsakes Plantagenet when the battle goes against him, and fawns on Bolingbroke. There will always be a money-lender for such cases as this. But so long as he is in the service of a thriftless ne'er-do-well, the money-lender is doing no harm to the State. If the wealth of the spendthrift must be squandered, it is perhaps better for the State that a share of it be hoarded in the coffers of the miser than that all be wasted in riotous living.

The following excerpt is taken from the *Manchester City News*, of July 31, 1886 :—

“ At the City Police Court, on Tuesday, before Mr. E. H. Fuller and Alderman Griffin, William Henry Flannagan, finisher, was charged with fraudulently obtaining outdoor relief from the Manchester Board of Guardians by making a false statement. Mr. William Brandon, who prosecuted, said the prisoner had been remanded from the previous day, and the offence with which he was charged was committed on the 6th and 7th of the present month. On the former date, he

went to a relieving officer and applied for some outdoor relief for himself and family, as he was out of work. Relief to the amount of eighteenpence was given to him on that date, and on the following day. Inquiries were made about him which disclosed the fact that he was employed in a Manchester dye-works that week and the previous one. Mr. Welsh, assistant relieving officer, who gave the aid to the prisoner, said the latter had received in the way of wages sixteen shillings for the week that he applied for poor relief, and a similar amount in the previous week. He had been employed during the night instead of in the day-time. The prisoner admitted the offence, and said he would repay the amount to the guardians if he was allowed to do so. Mr. Brandon said the prisoner had been doing this sort of thing for some time past, and from the beginning of April to June 6th and 7th he had obtained outdoor relief to the amount of £1 15s. 6d., although during that time he had been in receipt of an average wage of fifteen shillings per week. The justices sent him to gaol for one month, with hard labour."

When the "co-operative estates" are organized, Flannagan will find it impossible to defraud the Board of Guardians, as heretofore. The new regime will relieve Flannagan of one of his temptations to do wrong; and the police court of many culprits. It is quite plain that if Flannagan went to the co-operative estates and earned his supper and his lodging, even

though he had been employed during the preceding hours in a Manchester dye-works, and were not actually in need of employment, it would be a very inoffensive proceeding ; and he would not be likely to work so hard every day. It is a matter that would regulate itself without Government interference.

This brings me round to another advantage of the remedy. "I do not like the idea of co-operation promoted by the State," said one of my friends when I first began to talk of this proposal to him, "it is grandmotherly government ; and we have too much of it in England already."

I do not believe that even Mr. Herbert Spencer dislikes "grandmotherly legislation" more than I do. And I claim as one of the advantages of the co-operative estates that it will confer not only a larger measure of plenteousness upon the working men and women of England ; but more liberty. The proposal is not one of new restraints ; it imposes upon us no additional vaccinations, or burdens, or obligations ; except the divine obligation to work for our living, which, doubtless, it will make binding. On the contrary, it is a proposal to clear a little space for the unemployed in every poor-law union, within the limits of which the restraints of past legislation shall be withdrawn, and within the limits of which a divine experiment shall be made, to see how far it is possible for men and women to earn a livelihood without competition, and without jealousy of each other. If it be

found necessary to shorten the hours of labour—and I hope that every possible means will be taken to secure this end—that in itself will be a gift of greater liberty to every man and woman labouring there. The necessity which now lies upon multitudes of men to work ten hours daily, in order to provide the bare necessities of life, is a kind of bondage ; and if it be unnecessary, it is slavery. There are evidently *some* restraints in existence already ; some kinds of pressure which very effectually monopolize five-twelfths of the labourer's working day, when one-fourth of his day would be sufficient under other conditions. I know not how to designate the Government which has brought *this* state of things to pass.

The co-operative estate would remove these restraints from all workers who obtained admission ; it would, moreover, remove the stern necessity which now presses upon the millions of English unemployed men and women, compelling them to accept doles, when they are both able and willing to work ; and it would remove the burden of the poor's rate from the taxpayer. The scheme, so far from being one of centralization, is in the direction of further local self-government. All these things point to the fact that the proposal is not one of new State interference, but is much more a proposal to render many forms of State interference unnecessary, which at present exist ; to remove burdens, and not to impose new ones. If destitution were banished, there would be no

need for the collection and payment of school fees by the State—a proposal which is already within the domain of practical politics. But the most powerful arguments in favour of free schools are those which are based upon the injustice which the present system entails upon the destitute working class.

The difficulties which have followed the statesmen's error of permitting the private ownership of land, are a consequence of false legislation. Private ownership of land was not always permitted ; and far-seeing men to-day have realized the truth that the permission of it, by the State, was the beginning of a terrible blunder. Now the proposal advocated in this book is one which would, at least, begin to undo this mischief. It proposes to re-purchase the land, so far as it is necessary, to give employment to the destitute. Regarded as a proposal for the reform of the land laws, it has the advantage of being a strictly moderate proposal, of being elastic, and of conferring its benefits first and foremost upon that class of the community which has suffered most and whose necessities are keenest. It proposes to pay a just price for the land. And to the purchasers of it, the ratepayers, it proposes to give an equivalent—that is to say, a redemption from the poor's rate. So that, of all the objections that can be imagined, this of its being a proposal to impose additional State interference, is furthest from the mark. It is the very opposite of all this. What we want is to give the labourer, who is crowded out by

competition, access once again to the bounty of nature; which is as divine a task, if it be not the same identically, as restoring to him the mercies of God.

But we ought not to overlook the blessed influence which this reform would exert over the English women of the poorer classes. The rich may be tempted to degrade their bodies sometimes, out of pure indolence and for lack of other excitement. But it is not so with the poor. Hard work and simple fare makes them think of other matters. When the young women of the poorer classes fall into immoral methods of gaining a living—in seventy-five cases out of every hundred, they are driven into it by the difficulty of obtaining honourable employment of any other kind. The first violation takes place frequently when our wretched sisters are half starved. I recently undertook to deliver a lecture on the "Work and Wages of Women in Liverpool," In the course of my investigations I found that the principle of competition had been unchecked in its influence over the wages of the women of Liverpool.

There is no large manufacturing industry in the city which offers work for women, and there are no trades unions for the protection of their interests. Consequently the wages of women are down at the starvation limit, as Ricardo prophesied they would be, under similar circumstances. Now, in the weaving trade

of East Lancashire, women obtain very fair wages ; but what is the reason ? Men and women work side by side at the same occupation, and the men formed their weavers' association many years ago, and compelled the women also to join ; and thus they put a check upon the competition which exists between the employed and the unemployed. It is, however, only a check ; the competition is still going on, and in course of time no doubt the wages here also will be reduced to the starvation limit. But the trades union keeps back the evil day. Working women do not take the same interest in their trades as do working-men. For the most part the women regard their calling as a temporary thing. They look forward to the time when they hope to be married and to have charge of a household. Consequently, they do not initiate trades unions, for at the outset the formation of these societies involves persecution and suffering.

And so it happens that in Liverpool, because there has never been any effort made to protect the wages of women, these wages are exceedingly low. Added to this fact, the temptations to prostitution are more numerous in Liverpool than in any other city in England—Liverpool being the chief seaport of the kingdom. Nevertheless, hundreds of women are endeavouring to live on starvation wages. Passing down a court near Collingwood Street last summer, I saw a young woman about twenty-five years of age crouched midway between the houses, breaking fire-

wood with a hatchet. I entered into conversation with her, and learned that she had been following this occupation for several weeks past, and had thus been able to earn eightpence a day! This is only four shillings a week! She was a strong and an industrious woman, if one might judge from the enormous pile of firewood which lay in front of her, as a result of her morning's work. Four shillings is not enough to support a woman for seven days; not enough to purchase food and clothing and lodging, even of a very common description. And yet the fact that hundreds of women and girls are to be found in Liverpool bravely doing this work, who are unable to obtain any more lucrative employment of an honourable kind, is a fact full of significance, full of bright hopes for the future of England—that happy future when the working classes shall again have both their rights and their duties restored to them.

When honourable work is ill-paid, the temptations to dishonourable callings are increased. And the consequence is that the streets of the city at nightfall are haunted by the wrecks of womanhood to such an extent that those who would not are compelled to gaze upon the frightful spectacle of women, and perhaps mothers, drunk, and worse than drunk, absolutely devoid of womanly feeling.

I can see that if once the co-operative estates are established in England, part of this evil will be averted; that all those who now enter upon the

sorrowful way, because they are hungry, and know not how to obtain the next meal, will then seek the honourable labour which the co-operative estates offer to every man and woman who requires the necessaries of life and is willing to earn them.

But there is yet another evil—a result of low wages, from which working women suffer, which the co-operative estates would alleviate; I refer to the numerous hasty and imprudent marriages, which for the most part are marriages of convenience rather than marriages for love. No wonder that many of these marriages prove unendurable to both the husband and the wife! The woman occupies a false position from the outset. For although woman is quite as necessary to the welfare of the State as man, and her work quite as important, yet she is paid to-day, when we compare all the trades of men and women, at a rate which is less than one-third the average wages of a man. Hence her unnatural eagerness to accept any man who offers his hand in marriage. Hence the inevitable servitude and humiliation, to which she is continually subjected.

But how will all this be altered for the better when every working woman, by giving six hours' labour out of the twenty-four, shall have earned all that is necessary to keep her from these temptations!

Then the working women of England will be emancipated indeed; and from a nobler race of mothers will spring a nobler human race—of tenderer

fathers, of braver women, and of healthier children. None will marry on the co-operative estates for convenience ; because, whether married or unmarried, all women must work who are healthy enough to work. To marry, therefore, will be to accept additional tasks and obligations, and not to escape from them. And the consequence of this will be, so far as it concerns women, that they will not marry unless they are truly in love with their husbands—in love even to the point of self-sacrifice. Where this is compassed, all goes well. Love is forgetful of self. It knows no other joy than “the eternal sacrifice of self.” In the household where love reigns, there will always be gladness, no matter whether it be the home of the working-man or the abode of luxury.

## CHAPTER XV.

## REMARKABLE QUOTATIONS.

OPINIONS OF NOVELISTS, ECONOMISTS, SOCIALISTS, HISTORIANS,  
AND PHILOSOPHERS ON THE SUBJECT TREATED IN THIS  
BOOK.

“The general principle here announced has come into the world to stay. It is one of those truths which, once discovered, taunts us with blindness that we have not always seen it. It is self-evident—that is, it has become a necessary birth in the evolution of reason and nature on this planet.”—EDWARD H. G. CLARK, *Man's Birthright; or, the High Law of Property.*

“God said, I am tired of kings ;  
I suffer them no more ;  
Up to my ear the morning brings  
The outrage of the poor.

“Lo ! I uncover the land  
Which I hid of old time in the West,  
As the sculptor uncovers the statue  
When he has wrought his best.

“I will divide my goods ;  
Call in the wretch and slave ;  
None shall rule but the humble ;  
And none but toil shall have.”

EMERSON, *Boston Hymn.*

## QUOTATION from Cairns's "Leading Principles"—

"The fund available for those who live by labour tends, in the progress of society, while growing actually larger, to become a constantly smaller fraction of the entire national wealth. If, then, the means of any one class of society are to be permanently limited to this fund, it is evident, assuming that the progress of its members keeps pace with that of other classes, that its material condition in relation to theirs cannot but decline. Now, as it would be futile to expect, on the part of the poorest and most ignorant of the population, self-denial and prudence greater than that actually practised by the classes above them, the circumstances of whose life are so much more favourable than theirs for the cultivation of these virtues, the conclusion to which I am brought is this: that, unequal as is the distribution of wealth already in this country, the tendency of industrial progress—on the supposition that the present separation between industrial classes is maintained—is towards an inequality greater still. The rich will be growing richer; and the poor, at least, relatively poorer. It seems to me, apart altogether from the question of the labourers' interest, that these are not conditions which furnish a solid basis for a progressive social state; but, having regard to that interest, I think the considerations adduced show that the first and indispensable step towards any serious amendment of the labourers' lot, is that he should be, in one way or another, lifted out

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of the groove in which he at present works, and placed in a position compatible with his becoming a sharer in equal proportion with others in the general advantages arising from industrial progress."

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Quotation from "Contemporary Socialism," a book intended to show the defects of Socialism, by Mr. John Rae, M.A.—

"The yeomanry, once a seventh of our population, and the small masters in trade, have gradually given way before the economical superiority of the large capitalist or other causes, and modern industry has as yet produced no other class that can by position or numbers fill their room ; for though no doubt the great industries call into being auxiliary industries of various kinds, which are still best managed on a small scale by independent tradesmen, the number of middling incomes which the greater industries have thus contributed to create has been far short of the number they have extinguished. The same causes have, of course, exercised very important effects on the economic condition of the working classes. They have reduced them more and more to the permanent position of wage-labourers, and have left them relatively fewer openings than they once possessed for investing their savings in their own line, and fewer opportunities for the abler and more intelligent of them to rise to a competency. This want may perhaps be ultimately

supplied under existing industrial conditions, by the modern system of co-operation, which combines some of the advantages of the small capital with some of the advantages of the large, though it lacks one of the chief advantages of both, the energetic, uncontrolled initiative of the individual capitalist. But at present, at any rate, it is premature to expect this, and, as things stand, many of the old pathways that linked class with class are now closed without being replaced by modern substitutes, and working-men are more purely and permanently wage-labourers than they used to be. . . . Of course labourers will never benefit to the full from improvements in the productive arts, until by some arrangement or by many arrangements they are made sharers in industrial capital. . . . You cannot spread habits of intelligence among the labouring class, if their means are too poor or their leisure too short to enable them to participate in the culture that is going. . . . What may be done to meet the redundancies of labour that are always with us, is a difficult but pressing question which I cannot enter upon here. State provision of work—even in producing commodities which are imported from abroad, and which might therefore be produced in State workshops without hurting home-producers—has many drawbacks, but the problem is one that ought to be faced, and something more must be provided for the case than workhouse and prison."

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Quotation from Karl Marx—

“ The State has other duties towards the poor than to come in contact with them through the police.”

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Quotation from “Latter-day Pamphlets,” by Thos. Carlyle—“*Speech of the British Prime Minister to the floods of Irish and other Beggars, the able-bodied Lackalls, nomadic or stationary, and the general assembly, outdoor and indoor, of the Pauper Population of these Realms*—

“ Vagrant Lackalls, foolish most of you, criminals many of you, miserable all : the sight of you fills me with astonishment and despair. What to do with you I know not : long have I been meditating, and it is hard to tell. Here are some three millions of you, as I count : so many of you fallen sheer over into the abysses of open Beggary ; and, fearful to think, every new unit that falls is *loading* so much more the chain that drags the others over. On the edge of the precipice hang uncounted millions ; increasing, I am told, at the rate of 1200 a day. They hang there on the giddy edge, poor souls, cramping themselves down, holding on with all their strength : but falling, falling one after another ; and the chain is getting *heavy*, so that ever more fall ; and who at last will stand ? What to do with you ? The question, What to do with you ? especially since the potato died, is like to break my heart !

“One thing, after much meditating, I have at last discovered, and now know for some time back : That you cannot be left to roam abroad in this unguided manner, stumbling over the precipices, and loading ever heavier the fatal *chain* upon those who might be able to stand ; that this of locking you up in temporary Idle Workhouses, when you stumble, and subsisting you on Indian meal, till you can sally forth again on fresh roarings, and fresh stumblings, and ultimate descent to the devil ;—that this is *not* the plan ; and that it never was, nor could out of England have been supposed to be, much as I have prided myself upon it.

“Vagrant Lackalls, I at last perceive, all this that has been sung and spokèn, for a long while, about enfranchisement, emancipation, freedom, suffrage, civil and religious liberty over the world, is little other than sad temporary jargon, brought upon us by a stern necessity,—but now ordered by a sterner to take itself away again a little. Sad temporary jargon, I say : made up of sense and nonsense—sense in small quantities, and nonsense in very large ;—and, if taken for the whole or permanent truth of human things, it is no better than fatal infinite nonsense eternally *untrue*. All men, I think, will have to quit this, to consider this as a thing pretty well achieved ; and to look out towards another thing much more needing achievement at the time that now is. . . .

“Good heavens ! and I have to raise some eight or

nine millions annually, six for England itself, and to wreck the morals of my working population beyond all money's worth, to keep the life from going out of *you* ; a small service to you, as I many times bitterly repeat ! Alas, yes ; before high Heaven I must declare it such. I think the old Spartans, who would have killed you instead, had shown more 'humanity,' more of manhood, than I thus do ! More humanity, I say, more of *manhood*, and of sense for what the dignity of man demands imperatively of you and of me, and of us all. We call it charity, beneficence, and other fine names, this brutish Workhouse Scheme of ours ; and it is but sluggish heartlessness, and insincerity, and cowardly lowness of soul. Not 'humanity' or manhood, I think : perhaps *apehood* rather. . . .

"Ask me not for Indian meal ; you shall be compelled to earn it first : know that on other terms I will not give you any. Before heaven and earth, and God the Maker of us all, I declare it is a scandal to see *such* a life kept in you, by the sweat and heart's-blood of your brothers ; and that if we cannot mend it death were preferable ! Go to, we must get out of this unutterable coil of nonsenses constitutional, philanthropical, etc., in which (surely without mutual hatred, if with less of 'love' than is supposed) we are all strangling one another ! Your wants of wants, I say, is that you be *commanded* in this world, not being able to command yourselves. Know, therefore, that it shall be so with you.

“Nomadism, I give you notice, has ended; needful permanency, soldier-like obedience, and the opportunity and the necessity of hard steady labour for your living have begun. Know that the Idle Workhouse is shut against you henceforth; you cannot enter there at will, nor leave at will;—you shall enter a quite other refuge under conditions strict as soldiering, and not leave till I have done with you. . . .

“Arise, enlist in my Irish, my Scotch, and English regiments of the New Era which I have been concocting day and night, during these three grouse seasons (taking earnest incessant counsel, with all manner of industrial notabilities, and men of insight, on the matter), and have now brought to a kind of preparation for incipiency, thank Heaven! Enlist there, ye poor wandering banditti; obey, work, suffer, abstain, as all of us have had to do; so shall you be useful in God’s creation, so shall you be helped to gain a manful living for yourselves; not otherwise than so. Industrial regiments—[*Here numerous persons, with big wigs many of them, and austere aspect, whom I take to be Professors of the Dismal Science, start up in an agitated vehement manner; but the Premier resolutely beckons them down again*]}—regiments not to fight the French or others who are peaceable enough towards us; but to fight the Bogs and Wildernesses at home and abroad, and to chain the Devils of the Pit which are walking too openly among us.

“Work for you? Work, surely, is not quite undiscoverable in an earth so wide as ours, if we will take the right methods for it! Indigent friends, we will adopt this new relation (which is *old* as the world); this will lead us towards such. Rigorous conditions, not to be violated on either side, lie in this relation; conditions planted there by God Himself; which woe will betide us if we do not discover, gradually more and more discover, and conform to! Industrial Colonels, Workmasters, Taskmasters, Life-commanders equitable as Rhadamanthus and inflexible as he: such I perceive you do need; and such, you being once put under law as soldiers are, will be discoverable for you. . . . I already raise near upon Ten Millions for feeding you in idleness, my nomadic friends: work, under due regulations, I really might try to get if—  
[*Here arises indescribable uproar, no longer repressible, from all manner of Economists, Emancipationists, Constitutionalists, and miscellaneous Professors of the Dismal Science, pretty numerously scattered about; and cries of “Private Enterprise,” “Rights of Capital,” “Voluntary Principle,” “Doctrines of the British Constitution,” swollen by the general assenting hum of all the world, quite drown the Chief Minister for awhile. He, with invincible resolution, persists; obtains hearing again*]:

“Respectable Professors of the Dismal Science, soft you a little. Alas, I know what you would say. For my sins, I have read much in those inimitable

volumes of yours—really, I should think, some barrowfuls of them in my time—and, in these last forty years of theory and practice, have pretty well seized what of Divine message you were sent with to me. Perhaps as small a message, give me leave to say, as ever there was a noise made about before. Trust me, I have not forgotten it, shall never forget it, those laws of the Shop-till are indisputable to me; and practically useful, in certain departments of the universe, as the multiplication table itself. Once I even tried to sail through the Immensities with them, and to front the big coming Eternities with them; but I found it would not do. As the Supreme Rule of Statesmanship, or Government of Men,—since this Universe is not wholly a Shop,—no. You rejoice in my improved tariff, free-trade movements, and the like, on every hand; for which be thankful, and even sing litanies if you choose. But here at last, in the Idle-Workhouse movement—unexampled yet on earth or in the waters under the earth—I am fairly brought to a stand; and have had to make reflections, of the most alarming, and indeed awful, and, as it were, religious nature! Professors of the Dismal Science, I perceive that the length of your tether is now pretty well run; and that I must request you to talk a little lower in future. By the side of the shop-till,—see, your small ‘Law of God’ is hung up, along with the multiplication table itself. But beyond and above the shop-till, allow me to say, you shall as good as hold

your peace. Respectable Professors, I perceive it is not now the Gigantic Hucksters, but it is the Immortal Gods, yes they, in their terror and their beauty, in their wrath and their beneficence, that are coming into play in the affairs of this world! Soft you a little. Do not you interrupt me, but try to understand and help me!

“Work, was I saying? My indigent, unguided friends, I should think some work might be discoverable for you. Enlist; stand drill: become, from a nomadic Banditti of Idleness, Soldiers of Industry! I will lead you to the Irish Bogs, to the vacant desolations of Connaught, to ditto Munster, Leinster, Ulster, I will lead you; to the English fox-covers, furze-grown commons, New Forests, Salisbury Plains; likewise to the Scotch hillsides, and bare rushy slopes, which as yet feed only sheep,—moist uplands, thousands of square miles in extent, which are destined yet to grow green crops, and fresh butter and milk and beef without limit (wherein no ‘Foreigner can compete with us’), were the Glasgow sewers once opened on them, and you with your Colonels carried thither. In the Three Kingdoms, or in the Forty Colonies, depend upon it, you shall be led to your work!

“To each of you I will then say: Here is work for you; strike into it with manlike, soldier-like obedience and heartiness, according to the methods here prescribed,—wages follow for you without difficulty; all manner of just remuneration, and at length

emancipation itself follows. Refuse to strike into it ; shirk the heavy labour, disobey the rules,—I will admonish and endeavour to incite you ; if in vain, I will flog you ; if still in vain, I will at last shoot you, —and make God's earth, and the forlorn-hope in God's Battle, free of you. Understand it, I advise you ! The Organization of Labour—— [*Left speaking*, says our reporter.]

“‘Left speaking.’ Alas, that he should have to ‘speak’ so much ! There are things that should be done, not spoken ; that, till the doing of them is begun, cannot well be spoken. He may have to ‘speak’ seven years yet, before a spade be struck into the Bog of Allen ; and then perhaps it will be too late !”

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Quotation from “The Socialist Catechism,” by Mr. J. L. Joynes—

“*Q.* Why is it necessary that any work should be done in the world ? *A.* Because men require food, clothing, and shelter ; and these cannot be obtained without work.

“*Q.* Is the work which must be done in order to produce these necessaries either very hard or very long ? *A.* It is neither the one nor the other. After all the necessary work has been done, there is ample opportunity for the enjoyment of leisure and the production of beautiful things.

“*Q.* Then why do immense numbers of men spend their whole lives in doing work which gives them no pleasure, while the enjoyment of leisure is an impossibility for them? *A.* Because there is another large class of men who keep all the available leisure and pleasure for themselves.

“*Q.* How may these two sets of persons be roughly distinguished? *A.* As employers and employed; idlers and workers; privileged and plundered; or, more simply still, as rich and poor.

“*Q.* Cannot the poor provide the rich with food, clothing, and shelter, and yet have enough time for leisure even after they have done this? *A.* Certainly; but the rich are not content with exacting simple necessities from the poor.

“*Q.* What more do they compel them to contribute? *A.* Luxuries; and there is no end to the amount of labour which may be wasted in the painful production of useless things.

“*Q.* Why do the poor consent to produce by their labour all these necessary and unnecessary things for persons who do nothing for them in return? *A.* Simply because they cannot help themselves.

“*Q.* But how does it happen that they are in this helpless position? *A.* It is due to the fact that society is at present organized solely in the interests of the rich.\*

\* The author of this sentence is in error in supposing that the present organization of society is directly beneficial to any-

“*Q.* Why cannot the poor organize society on a system which will prevent their being robbed of their own productions? *A.* Because the existing organization itself keeps them ignorant of its own causes, and consequently powerless to resist its effects.

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“*Q.* What constitutes the chief difference between capitalism and slave-owning? *A.* The fact that the capitalist goes through the form of bargaining with the labourer as to the amount of the portion of the produce that shall be returned to him.

“*Q.* What is this farce called? *A.* Freedom of contract.

“*Q.* In what sense is it free? *A.* In this sense—that the labourer is free to take what is offered or nothing.

“*Q.* Has he anything to fall back upon? *A.* He has absolutely nothing in countries where the tyranny of capitalism is untempered by any form of Socialism.

“*Q.* What is the case in England? *A.* Humanity has revolted against the reign of the capitalist, and provided the workhouse as a last resource for the labourer, taxing the capitalist for its support.

“*Q.* How has the capitalist turned this piece of Socialism to his own ends? *A.* By rendering the

body's interest. Competition, for many years past has created as much unmerited loss and unnecessary enmity amongst employers of labour as amongst workmen. Competition is the enemy of civilization and not merely the enemy of a class.

workhouse so unpleasant to the poor that starvation is often thought preferable ; and by insisting that no useful work done in the workhouse shall be brought into his market, where its presence would disturb his calculations, and impair his profits.

“ *Q.* Why does he allow it to exist at all ?  
*A.* Because he knows that its existence may stave off for a time the Revolution which he dreads.

“ *Q.* What do you mean by the Revolution ?  
*A.* The complete change in the conditions of society which will abolish all unjust privileges, distinctions of rank, or difference between wage-payers and wage-earners, and will render the workers their own employers.”

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Quotation from “Our Mutual Friend,” by Charles Dickens—

“ Yes, verily, my lords and gentlemen and honourable boards, adapting your catechism to the occasion, and by God’s help so you must. For when we have got things to the pass that with an enormous treasure at disposal to relieve the poor, the best of the poor detest our mercies, hide their heads from us, and shame us by starving to death in the midst of us, it is a pass impossible of prosperity, impossible of continuance. It may not be so written in the Gospel according to Podsnappery ; you may not ‘ find these words ’ for the text of a sermon in the Returns of

the Board of Trade ; but they have been the truth since the foundations of the universe were laid, and they will be the truth until the foundations of the universe are shaken by the Builder. This boastful handiwork of ours, which fails in its terrors for the professional pauper, the sturdy breaker of windows, and the rampant tearer of clothes, strikes with a cruel and wicked stab at the stricken sufferer, and is a horror to the deserving and unfortunate. We must mend it, lords and gentlemen and honourable boards, or in its own evil hour it will mar every one of us."

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Quotation from "Six Centuries of Work and Wages," by Mr. James E. Thorold Rogers—

" How far beggary, wretchedness, and crime, with their most fruitful concomitants, drunkenness, and hoplessness, reciprocally act on each other we cannot and never shall be able to tell. We know that they are the miserable circle in which thousands of our people, especially in London, revolve. We know that they have destroyed all interest, except in the means of the present day, in thousands. There is a large population which would, if it could, make war on society which measures its own misery by the opulence of others, and is profoundly convinced that every power which society has and uses is employed against it. The people live in squalid dens, where there can be no health and no hope, but dogged

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discontent at their own lot and futile discontent at the wealth which they see possessed by others."

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Quotation from "Paper Money," by James Harvey—

"The political economists have been some time in power, and what have we seen in England and Ireland? The work of the poor taken from them, and given to foreign labourers and foreign artisans. The market which their expenditure would create, no longer an English market, but a foreign one, from which we are shut out.

"In both England and Ireland have been erected buildings called workhouses, because no work is to be done there; but which have been more properly called coops, in which the able-bodied and necessitous poor are, on principle, imprisoned and kept idle. The public must and do maintain the able-bodied pauper, but refuse to employ him actively and productively. The public is in the situation of a man who should be bound to pay wages to one thousand labourers, whether they work or not. Everything which these labourers could produce, would, under the circumstances, be a saving of loss—that is, a pure gain to him.

"In the mean time, the numbers of unemployed poor, and the annual value they unproductively consume, fearfully augment. The humble tradesman is ruined by poor-rates. There stand the idle, starving

paupers, amidst wealth more than fabulous, 'an exceeding great army.' A depression of manufacturing or agricultural industry fills their ranks, and exasperates their discontent. The unemployed poor have already pulled down government and threatened to destroy property in France ; and the danger is not less real here, nor possibly so remote, as is generally imagined."

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Quotation from "Social Problems," by Mr. Henry George—

" How contempt of human rights is the essential element in building up the great fortunes whose growth is such a marked feature of our development we have already seen. And just as clearly may we see that from the same cause spring poverty and pauperism. The tramp is the complement of the millionaire.

" Consider this terrible phenomenon, the tramp—an appearance more menacing to the republic than that of hostile armies and fleets bent on destruction. What is the tramp? In the beginning he is a man able to work and willing to work for the satisfaction of his needs ; but who, not finding opportunity to work where he is, starts out in quest of it ; who, failing in this search, is, in a later stage, driven by those imperative needs to beg or to steal, and so, losing self-respect, loses all that animates and elevates and

stimulates a man to struggle and to labour; becomes a vagabond and an outcast—a poisonous pariah, avenging on society the wrong that he keenly, but vaguely, feels has been done him by society.

“ Yet the tramp, known as he is now from the Atlantic to the Pacific, is only a part of the phenomena. Behind him, though not obtrusive, save in what we call ‘hard times,’ there is, even in what we now consider normal times, a great mass of unemployed labour which is unable, unwilling or not, yet forced to tramp, but which bears to the tramp the same relation that the submerged part of an iceberg does to that much smaller part which shows above the surface.”

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Quotation from “Unto this Last,” by Mr. John Ruskin—

“ I will state at once the worst of the political creed at which I wish my reader to arrive.

“ First, that there should be training schools for youth established at Government cost, and under Government discipline, over the whole country.

“ Secondly, that there should be established entirely under Government regulation, manufactories and workshops; for the production and sale of every necessary of life, and for the exercise of every useful art. And that, interfering no whit with private enterprise, nor setting any restraints or tax on private trade, but leav-

ing both to do their best, and beat the Government if they could, there should, at these Government manufactorys and shops, be authoritatively good and exemplary work done, and pure and true substance sold ; so that a man could be sure if he chose to pay the Government price, that he got for his money bread that was bread, ale that was ale, and work that was work.

“ Thirdly, that any man, or woman, or boy, or girl out of employment, should be at once received at the nearest Government school, and set to such work as it appeared, on trial, they were fit for, at a fixed rate of wages determinable every year ; that, being found incapable of work through ignorance, they should be taught, or, being found incapable of work through sickness, should be tended ; but that being found objecting to work, they should be set, under compulsion of the strictest nature, to the more painful and degrading forms of necessary toil, especially to that in mines and other places of danger (such danger being, however, diminished to the utmost by careful regulation and discipline), and the due wages of such work be retained—cost of compulsion first abstracted —to be at the workman’s command, so soon as he has come to sounder mind respecting the laws of employment.

“ Lastly, that for the old and destitute comfort and home should be provided ; which provision, when misfortune had been by the working of such a system

sifted from guilt, would be honourable instead of disgraceful to the receiver. For (I repeat this passage out of my 'Political Economy of Art,' to which the reader is referred for farther detail) a labourer serves his country with his spade, just as a man in the middle ranks of life serves it with sword, pen, or lancet. If the service be less, and, therefore, the wages during health less, then the reward when health is broken may be less, but not less honourable ; and it ought to be quite as natural and straightforward a matter for a labourer to take his pension from his parish, because he has deserved well of his parish, as for a man in higher rank to take his pension from his country, because he has deserved well of his country."

To which statement I will only add, for conclusion respecting the discipline and pay of life and death, that for both high and low, Livy's last words touching Valerius Publicola, " *de publico est elatus*," ought not to be a dishonourable close of epitaph.

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Quotation from "The Duties of Man" by Joseph Mazzini, p. 358—

" Many, too many, of you are poor. Life, for at least three-fourths of the working class, whether labourers or mechanics, is a daily struggle to obtain the *indispensable* material means of existence. They are occupied in manual labour for ten, twelve, sometimes fourteen hours a day, and by this constant,

monotonous, and painful industry, they scarcely gain the bare necessities of physical existence. The attempt to teach such men the duty of progress, to speak to them of their intellectual and moral life, of their political rights, or of education, is sheer irony in the present state of things.

“They have neither time nor means to improve and progress. Wearied, worn out, half stupified by a life consumed in a round of petty and mechanical toil, all they do learn is a mute, impotent, and often unjust rancour against the class of men who employ them. They too often seek forgetfulness of the troubles of the day and the uncertainty of the morrow in the stimulus of strong drink, and sink to rest in places better described as dens than rooms, to waken to a repetition of the same dull exercise of their merely physical powers.

“It is a sad condition, and it must be altered.

“You are *men*, and as such you possess faculties, not merely physical, but intellectual and moral ; faculties which it is your duty to develop. You should be *citizens*, and as such, exercise for the good of all, certain rights, which require a certain degree of education and a certain portion of time.

“It is clear that you ought to labour less and gain more than you now do.

“Sons of God all of us, and brethren in Him and among ourselves, we are called to constitute one sole great family.

“ In this family there may exist such inequality as is the result of diversity of aptitude, of capacity, or of disposition for labour ; but it should be governed by one single principle : *Whosoever is willing to give—for the benefit of the whole—that amount of labour of which he is capable, ought to receive such amount of recompense for that labour, as will enable him more or less to develop his individual life in each of the essential characteristics by which individual life is defined.*

“ This is the ideal which all of us ought to strive to study to approach more nearly from age to age.

“ Every change, every revolution which fails to advance us one step towards this ideal, which does not produce a moral and social progress, corresponding to the political progress achieved, which does not result in one degree of improvement in the material condition of the poorer classes, violates the providential design, and reduces itself to the rank of mere war of faction against faction, each seeking illegitimate dominion, and each alike a falsehood and an evil.

“ But up to what point can we realize this aim at the present day ? How and by what means can we reach this point ?

“ Some of the more timid amongst your well-wishers have sought the remedy in the morality of the working-man himself. They have founded savings banks, and similar institutions, saying to the operative : ‘ *Bring your wages here ; economise ; abstain from every excess, whether of drink or otherwise ;*’

*emancipate yourselves from poverty by privation.*' And such advice is excellent, in so far as it tends to the moral improvement of the workman, without which all reforms are useless. But it neither solves the question of poverty itself, nor takes any account of social duty.

"Very few of you *can* economise your wages. And all that those few can achieve by their slow accumulation is, the possibility of providing to a certain extent for their old age. Now, the economical question has more than this in view. Its object is also to provide for the years of manhood, to develop and expand *life*, as far as possible, while in its full vigour and activity, while it may most efficaciously aid the progress of the country and humanity.

"Even with regard to the mere material well-being of the working-class, this advice falls short of the aim, as it does not even hint at any method of increasing wealth or production. Moreover, society, which lives by the labour of the sons of the people, and demands from them their tribute of blood in the hour of danger, incurs a sacred debt towards them in return.

"There are other men, not enemies of the people, but indifferent to the cry of suffering which bursts from the hearts of the sons of labour, and fearful of every great innovation, who belong to the school of Economists, and who have worthily and usefully fought the battle of industry and labour, but without reflecting that the necessity of progress and of

association is an irradicable element of human nature.

“ This school has maintained, and still—like the Philanthropists of whom I have spoken—does maintain, that every man *can*, even in the present state of things, build up his own independence on his own activity, that any change in the organization of labour would be either injurious or superfluous, and that the formula, *Each man for himself, and liberty for us all*, is sufficient to create, by degrees, an approximate equilibrium of ease and comfort among the various classes that constitute society.

“ Liberty of internal traffic, liberty of commerce among nations, a progressive reduction of customs-duties (especially upon raw materials) a general encouragement offered to great industrial enterprises, to the multiplication of means of communication, and of all machinery tending to increase activity of production—these, according to the *Economists*, are all that society can offer for the amelioration of the position of your class, and any further intervention on its part would, in their opinion, be a source of evil.

“ If this were indeed true, the evil of poverty would be incurable ; but God forbid, my brothers, that I should ever give your sufferings and your aspirations an answer so despairing, atheistic, and immoral. God has ordained for you a better future than that offered by the remedies of the *Economists*.

“ Their remedies, in fact, merely point to the pos-

sible and temporary increase of the production of wealth ; they do not tend to its more equitable distribution. While the philanthropists, regarding individual man alone, content themselves with the endeavour to make him more moral, without seeking to increase the common prosperity so as to give him an opportunity of progress ; the Economists think only of increasing the sources of production, without occupying themselves with the condition of the individual man.

“ Under the exclusive *régime* of liberty which they preach, and which has more or less regulated the economical world in these later days, the most irrefutable documentary evidence has shown an increase of productive activity and of capital, but not of universally diffused prosperity.

“ The misery of the working-classes is unchanged. Liberty of competition for him who possesses nothing—for him who, unable to save on his daily earnings, cannot even initiate a competition—is a lie ; even as political liberty is a lie for those who, from want of education, instruction, time, and material means, are unable to exercise their rights. Increased facilities for the exchange and conveyance of the products of labour would by degrees emancipate labour from the tyranny of trade and commerce, and from the existing classes of *intermediaries* between the producer and the consumer, but they cannot emancipate it from the tyranny of capital ; they cannot give the means of labour to him who has them not. . . .

“We must not seek to abolish property because at present it is in the possession of the few ; we must open up the paths by which the many may acquire it. We must go back to the principle which is its legitimization, and endeavour that it shall in future be the result of labour alone. We must lead society towards establishing a more equitable basis of remuneration between the proprietor or capitalist and the workman. We must transform the system of taxation so as to exempt the first necessities of life therefrom, and thus render that economy which gradually produces property, possible to working-men. . . . The remedy is to be found in *the union of labour and capital in the same hands.*

“When society shall recognize no other distinction between *producers* and *consumers* ; or rather, when every man shall be alike producer and consumer ; when the profits of labour, instead of being parcelled out among that series of *intermediates*—which (beginning with the capitalist and ending with the retailer) frequently increases the price of production fifty per cent.—shall belong entirely to those who perform the labour, all the *permanent* causes of your poverty will be removed.”

## CHAPTER XVI.

## EXHORTATIONS.

“Without uprooting any existing social institutions, without precipitating the introduction of any additional forms of economy, we may look forward to the time when, with the further spread of knowledge and human culture, social peace shall at last have been concluded, when the now contending classes shall have learned the true nature of their common interests, and the mutual inter-dependence between honest labour and property honestly acquired. Without any distinctive measures a system may be gradually constructed of a free industry in a free state, both endued with a new spirit of liberality, general culture, co-operative discipline, sound morality, and unfeigned brotherly love.”—KAUFMAN.

THE opposition of political parties in England is not by any means inevitable. It is possible that a subject of reform may occur upon which all parties may be unanimous. And the unanimity in such cases may be a testimony to the loyalty of each party to its own principle. Let us consider if the reform which has been advocated in this book be not one of universal and not party interest.

I think that the Conservatives have sound reasons

for supporting it. The principle realized by this party in English politics, which is the basis of their policy, is a keen desire—first, to serve the best interests of the nation; and, then, to do this with as little deviation as possible from previous customs and precedents. Conservatives are not opposed to reforms *per se*. They are not unwilling even to introduce reforms, but their action may easily be construed thus, in consequence of their great reverence for the traditions of the nation. Mazzini was a true Conservative when he said, “We are not here to *create* humanity, but to *continue* it.” In 1236, when the English prelates proposed the introduction of the Roman law regarding bastardy into England, the nobility made the celebrated reply, which embodies, at least, the *spirit* of Conservativism, *Nolumus leges Angliae mutare*, “We are unwilling to change the laws of England.”

There can be no doubt that the presence of this party has saved our country from violent policies and civil wars.

Now, the reform of the poor-law which is here advocated as a remedy for poverty is, eminently a Conservative measure, in the truest sense of the word. It will conserve all that we can possibly hope to conserve, and assuredly all that is good, in the existing form of parish relief. Conservatives, quite as much as Radicals, have lamented the growing evils of destitution, and have sought an economical, con-

stitutional, and practical remedy. Nor have sympathy with Want and Suffering been the special heritage of Socialists ; it cannot be argued that because a man is not a Socialist therefore he does not realize the sufferings of his brethren.

If the measure seems to belong to the class generally called sweeping reforms, the Conservative, before condemning it, should consider the alternative schemes, and judge which will be most in accord with our traditions, and which will tend most to conserve the best interests of the country. If poverty be not alleviated, and if the practice of dole-giving be not abandoned for something better, then the Irish Question must be settled in a very unconstitutional, manner ; and, to my thinking, a very inglorious manner ; for the mere giving of Home Rule is not a solution. It will not, of itself, cure the evils under which Irishmen groan. And to separate two nations, bound together as we are,—unless the separation be absolutely necessary for the vitality, liberty, or progress of the race,—is to step backwards in the history of religion and civilization.

I do not think the injustice done to Ireland at the time of the conquest is an important factor in the question to-day. We love our fathers ; we respect our grandfathers ; we take a curious interest in our great-grandfathers ; but it cannot be said that we take any interest in wrongs done to our great-great-grandfathers four or five generations removed. And if we did, we

should not be able to execute vengeance upon the persons who actually did the wrong, but only on some descendant, who is probably as different in disposition and temper from his ancestor as any two men could possibly be.

It is the social question which is the cause of Irish discontent, and not the historic question.

But, apart from Ireland, for our own England's sake, it is surely a wise Conservative policy which urges us to adopt the reform set forth in this book, as a remedy for our destitution, rather than some despotic form of Communism, the only alternative plan which has yet been proposed, taking into account the whole of the causes of poverty. I need not dwell upon the injustice of an enforced Commune when speaking to Conservatives. That it *is* an unrighteous and impolitic scheme I shall endeavour to show, when at the close of this chapter I speak to the Socialists.

It is essentially a Conservative method of settling the Land Question. It proposes to give a just compensation to all landowners ; it respects all existing rights ; it does not even ask for any sweeping or sudden change in English practices and customs which are the outcome of the private ownership of land. There will be estates for county families, and even grouse-shooting and fox-hunting for those who can afford such things. It is a reform that proposes to disturb nothing unnecessarily.

I have already condemned it as a popular mistake

to suppose that Radicals and Conservatives may not join hands for the purpose of carrying a beneficent reform. Very often they have voted together, in Parliament, without any violation of their principles. Moreover, we find them subscribing in private life to the same hospitals ; it is a difficult matter to say in many towns which party gives most unflagging interest to the welfare of these institutions. The two parties in our English Parliament therefore cannot be regarded as enemies ; they both love the same country and the same people ; they are of the same religion ; and it must often happen in the nature of things, that the intelligent Conservative will work quite as eagerly for a proposed reform as will the true Radical. The end, however, will be approached from different starting points.

And so with the reform proposed in these pages. I imagine that, although many Conservatives may be able to support it, we shall also find many intelligent Radicals eager to assist us. What is a Radical ? It is not true that he is "a pestilent fellow." He may be restless and dissatisfied and intractable ; but this is not the crucial test of his Radicalism.

A few weeks ago I was teaching a number of young men a lesson in botany, and in Dr. Hooker's "primer" we came upon this sentence : " The plantlet consists of different parts which serve different purposes. In the pea it consists of two thick masses (cotyledons) placed face to face, and united at one

point of their margins. A small cylindrical body lies between the cotyledons where these unite, and is attached to them about its middle. It is conical at one end, and blunter at the other. When the seed grows, the conical end (the Radicle) grows downwards, and gives origin to the root of the plant."

Whereupon one of my pupils asked, "What is the reason why some Liberals are called Radicals?" The question had no bearing upon our botany lesson. But it has always seemed to me that information sought by the pupil is more likely to be profitable than that which is chosen for him by his teacher; and I, nothing loth, explained that the principle which ought to guide the policy of a man who calls himself a Radical, is that of going down to the root of an evil, and eradicating that, as the proper means of reform: and that no policy can properly be called a radical policy which does not endeavour to effect its end by removing the source of the evil.

And now, returning to the question of workhouse reform, it seems to me that the proposal made in this book is truly Radical; because it aims at giving work to the unemployed instead of giving doles. The cause of the destitution of the industrial classes is lack of employment. Parish relief mitigates the consequences of this evil, but does not attempt to remove the cause.

The co-operative estates or industrial workhouse will actually remove the cause of the destitution, and

therefore it demands the allegiance of all intelligent men who call themselves Radicals. I have said so much already that is calculated to win the favourable consideration of Co-operators for this scheme of poor-law reform, that I shall not now encumber my book with a summary of the numerous reasons already adduced.

Let it suffice that the proposal is one which would afford conditions of a divine experiment in the true co-operation—such as the world has never yet seen ; that it would realize in very deed the brotherhood of man ; that it would for ever dissipate the anguish of those who, unable to comprehend the mystery of pain —of undeserved grief and unmerited poverty—are driven to doubt the goodness of God. When the reform is complete, these will sing, as Charles Wesley did, in one of his most beautiful hymns—

“ Come, O Thou Traveller unknown !  
Whom still I love but cannot see,  
Speak, or Thou never hence shalt move,  
And tell me if Thy name be Love.  
In vain I have not wept and strove :  
Thy nature and Thy name is Love.”

And I am not without hope that many Socialists will be able to work for this reform. It will bring into practice as much Socialism as the Socialists have any right to claim. The broadest toleration ought to characterize every Socialist movement ; else Freedom, the goddess whom they profess to adore, will be set at naught. It is only right to *allow* Socialism. It is wrong to enforce it. It is intolerant to say that

unwilling persons shall submit to it, no matter whether they be a majority or a minority. It will be found that this reform will give to all Socialists who desire to live, free from—

“The madding crowd’s ignoble strife,”

and from the harassing anxieties of competition, the opportunity of doing so. The co-operative estates will constitute forthwith no less than 649 centres of industry in England, conducted on the best lines of Socialistic thought and experiment. Moreover, there is less risk of failure if Socialists work in this direction, than in any scheme involving the purchase of land, the payment of interest, and (what is almost inevitable in any other kind of industrial enterprise), the necessity of producing goods for sale, and thus entering into competition with capitalists. To aim at any more comprehensive scheme is to beat the air. To ask men and women to adopt Socialism as a plan of practical life, who do not even believe in it as a theory, would be the policy of a blundering disciple more headstrong than Iscariot, calculated to protract the evil day, and to make enemies for a good cause out of passive onlookers. They who need it most, and who have reason to believe most in its principles, are the unemployed industrial classes.

Let us not be over-anxious to persuade or to compel the rich, who are content to take both the bitters and the sweets of competitive life. Let us be content if we can secure co-operative life for those

who most need it, those who have had none of the sweets, but all the bitters of competitive life—the hungry, the naked, and the homeless. And if any of us who are not poor, as the world counts poverty, are so enamoured of Socialism that we are eager to live as we have long been dreaming, this reform will open the way for us. There will be no reasonable objection to the admission of the affluent as well as the destitute. So long as we lay no further tax upon the competitive world; so long as we earn our own livelihood and pay our own way, it will be quite to the interest of the Co-operative Estates not only to admit, but to cordially invite, all who come to stay.

We thus see that the Socialist also will gain all that he has a just right to expect. And what is of infinite moment to the true Socialist, he will effect his reform without any of the horrors which attend a violent revolution.

“ Why hesitate ? Ye are full-bearded men,  
With God-implanted will, and courage if  
Ye dare but show it. Never yet was will  
But found some way or means to work it out,  
Nor e'er did fortune frown on him who dared.  
Shall we in presence of this grievous wrong,  
In this supremest moment of all time,  
Stand trembling, cowering, when with one bold stroke  
These groaning millions might be ever free ?  
And that one stroke so just, so greatly good,  
So level with the happiness of man,  
That all the angels will applaud the deed.”

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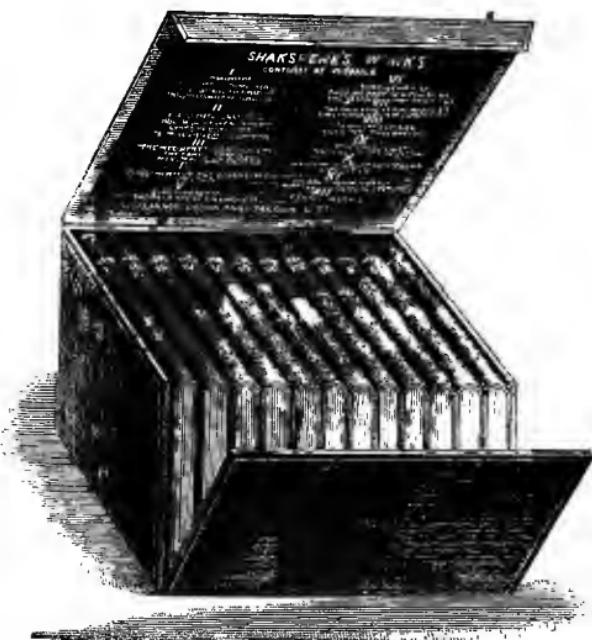
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4

*THE MERCHANT OF VENICE*

ACT I

*Salar.* My wind, cooling my broth,  
Would blow me to an ague, when I thought  
What harm a wind too great might do at sea.  
I should not see the sandy hour-glass run  
But I should think of shallows and of flats,  
And see my wealthy Andrew, dock'd in sand,  
Vailing her high-top lower than her ribs  
To kiss her burial. Should I go to church  
And see the holy edifice of stone,  
And not bethink me straight of dangerous rocks,  
Which touching but my gentle vessel's side,  
Would scatter all her spices on the stream,  
Enrobe the roaring waters with my silks,  
And, in a word, but even now worth this,  
And now worth nothing? Shall I have the thought  
To think on this, and shall I lack the thought  
That such a thing bechanc'd would make me sad?  
But tell not me: I know Antonio  
Is sad to think upon his merchandise.

*Ant.* Believe me, no: I thank my fortune for it,  
My ventures are not in one bottom trusted,  
Nor to one place; nor is my whole estate  
Upon the fortune of this present year:  
Therefore my merchandise makes me not sad.

*Salar.* Why, then you are in love.

*Ant.*

Fie, fie!

*Salar.* Not in love neither? Then let us say you  
are sad,  
Because you are not merry; and 'twere as easy  
For you to laugh, and leap, and say you are merry,  
Because you are not sad. Now, by two-headed  
Janus,  
Nature hath fram'd strange fellows in her time:  
Some that will evermore peep through their eyes  
And laugh like parrots at a bag-piper;  
And other of such vinegar aspect











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